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# STUDIES IN THE USE OF EXEMPLA

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO  
MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN LITERATURE

BY

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PART I: THE USE OF EXEMPLA IN MIDDLE HIGH  
GERMAN LITERATURE. PART II: THE LEGEND  
OF THE VIRGIN AS KNIGHT

*Thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the University of London*

LONDON  
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON PRESS, LTD.  
17 WARWICK SQUARE, E. C 4  
1923



## PREFACE.

The study of exempla, their origin and variants, their wanderings through ecclesiastical and secular literature began about the middle of the 19th century with Pfeiffer<sup>1</sup> and Goedeke<sup>2</sup> in Germany and Thomas Wright in England.<sup>3</sup> Since then the editors of mediaeval texts and the publishers of catalogues of manuscripts have done much to clear up the tangle of parallel versions and to provide material for a systematic study of those vagrant themes of European literature.<sup>4</sup>

A glance through the lists of recent German publications<sup>5</sup> reveals much diligence in following the trail of separate exempla as they meander through the literature of all ages and peoples, but the confused mass of material at hand makes it difficult to treat the subject as a whole. The first successful attempt in this direction was made by T. F. Crane in the Introduction to the "Exempla of J. de Vitry"<sup>6</sup> and the most recent contributions of value to those who wish a bird's eye view of this vast field are J. Mosher's thesis, "The exemplum in Early English religious and didactic literature"<sup>7</sup> and the scholarly work of Goswin Frenken<sup>8</sup>.

The present work is a study of the use of exempla in two sections — Part I being, as it were, vertical, and Part II horizontal. The former, although it cannot be complete, should prove of value in computing the penetration of this species of Latin homiletic literature into Middle High German Literature, while the latter shows the

<sup>1</sup> Germania III p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> Orient u. Occident 1.

<sup>3</sup> Latin Stories, London (Percy Society 1842).

<sup>4</sup> For a survey of the work of the last 30 years see T. F. Crane: Mediaeval Sermon-books and Stories (1917).

<sup>5</sup> E. g. F. Bär: Die Marienlegenden der Strassburger Hs. 863, Strassburg (1912). A. F. Ritter: Die Legende vom ertrunkenen Glöckner (1912). Watenphul: Die Beatrixlegende, Neuwied (1904). Priebisch: Bruder Rausch (Zwickau 1919) and "Walther's Abschied von der Welt", Mod. Lang. Rev. XII. J. Klapper: Exempla aus Hss. des Mittelalters, Heidelberg (1911). Erzählungen des MAs., Breslau (1914). Die Legende vom Armen Heinrich, Breslau (1914).

<sup>6</sup> Folk-lore Society, London (1880).

<sup>7</sup> Columbia University Press, 1911.

<sup>8</sup> Die Exempla des Jakob von Vitry, München (1914).

international and perennial nature of exempla. An appendix containing the most important exemplum sources of Middle High German literature has been added for the sake of convenience.

In publishing the result of more than two years' research, I wish to acknowledge help received from many quarters, in particular from Professor Pribsch, University College, London, who has given me his valuable advice unstintedly, from Professor J. G. Robertson, London, and from Dr. Schlapp, Reader in German in the University of Edinburgh. I would also thank the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, under whose auspices the work was done, and through whose generosity it is now published.

MUNICH, September, 1922.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY — THE EXEMPLUM IN EUROPE.

It is easy to date the birth of most technical terms of international currency, but in the case of the word *exemplum* one has to deal, not with a product of modern scientific method made to order, but with the adaptation of a term which, having had both a general and a particular connotation, is now restricted entirely to the latter. For the specialist in these things, *exempla* are the short narratives used by mediaeval preachers to illustrate or confirm the teaching of their sermons,<sup>1</sup> but the fact that the usage of the word to denote any kind of model or illustration ("example") did not conveniently cease when it passed into the vocabulary of the specialist makes it difficult to see precisely where the process of restriction began. The word itself was taken by theologians from Greek and Latin writers on rhetoric, who naturally emphasised the value of practical illustration as a means of persuasion. From Aristotle to Seneca<sup>2</sup> frequent reference has been found to examples and their use, while Quintilian, the handbook of the mediaeval student, devotes a whole chapter to their study.

The Christian Fathers trained on classical text-books, use the word with the same general meaning. Saint Ambrose (4th century) for instance, writes "*enim verba non satisfaciunt solent exempla suadere*"<sup>3</sup> and Leo the Great (5th century) "*Eloquentia sit facilis ad exorandum: sit ratio efficax ad suadendum: validiora tamen sunt*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Goswin Frenken: *Die Exempla des J. de Vitry*, München, 1914, p. 5. "*Exemplum im homilistischem Sinne ist jede kurze Erzählung, die geeignet ist und angewandt wird im Zusammenhang einer Predigt, die theologische oder moralische Deduktion durch den sie instinktiv beweisenden Bericht eines Interesse erregenden Vorgangs abzulösen.*" Cf. Mosher: *The Exemplum in Early English*, p. 6 cf. C. G. N. de Vooy: *Middel-nederlandse Legendes en exempelen*, Leyden, 1900, p. 7. In the present work, stories which have no human characters are excluded from consideration, although, of course, fables were frequently used as *exempla*.

<sup>2</sup> Seneca *Epist.* 5, *Opera*, ed. Fickert, 1842. "*Longum iter est per praecepta, breve et efficax per exempla.*" For other quotations from classical literature see Frenken, *op. cit.* p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Comment.* in *Epist. ad Corinth.* (*Opera*, Paris, 1690 II p. 145).



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exempla quam verba et plus est opere docere quam voce."<sup>4</sup> Gregory the Great, whom one may regard as the Father of the exemplum in Europe, introduces a story by a famous sentence which his successors repeated constantly as an apology for the same practice.<sup>5</sup> "Sed quia nonnumquam mentes audientium plus exempla fidelium quam docentium verba, convertunt . . .,"<sup>6</sup> using the word still in a general sense. Not before the 12th century, in the works of Alanus of Lille<sup>7</sup> and Honorius of Autun does it seem to have acquired its present specialised meaning and by the 14th century it has become a familiar term to be represented frequently in the margin of manuscripts in the contracted form, "expm".<sup>8</sup>

The Latin word is preserved in Romance languages — in Spanish "enxemplo" or "enxiemplo", in Italian "ensempio", in French it first appears in the Norman form, "essample", also used by Chaucer's Pardoner. In Anglo-Saxon translations from Latin authors it is rendered by "bigspell" and "bysen" or "forbysen" while Middle High and Low German have "bîspel". Later "byzeichen" and "byschaft" are used as synonyms and Pfeiffer created the modern "predigtmärlein" to which Frenken<sup>9</sup> takes exception as not fully expressing the didactic purpose of the exemplum. Yet one of the earliest appearances of the exemplum in German is introduced thus — "wir wollen in sagen uon ir gute unt uon ir gnaden ein kurcez maere"<sup>10</sup> and the writer of the Benediktbeuren collection of sermons, in translating from Honorius renders "exemplum" by "ein warez mare".<sup>11</sup> The diminutive forms "merichen"<sup>12</sup> and "maerlin"<sup>13</sup> are also frequently used. German writers, however,

<sup>4</sup> M. P. L. 54 c. 435. These quotations could be multiplied — cf. e. g. Gregor. Turon. M. P. L. 71. c. 1125. Ibid c. 1119. Cassiodorus M. P. L. 70. c. 154 & M. P. L. 69 c. 679 etc.

<sup>5</sup> cf. Etienne de Bourbon, Anecdotes, ed. L. de la Marche, Paris, 1897, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> M. P. L. 76 c. 1290 cf. Dialogues. Lib. I. M. P. L. 77 col. 153 "et sunt nonnulli quos ad amorem patriae coelestis plus exempla quam praedicamenta succendunt." There is, however, no basis for Mosher's assertion that the term is used here in the technical sense (p. 11 Footnote).

<sup>7</sup> M. P. L. 210 col. 114 "In fine vero debet uti exemplis ad probandum quod intendit, quia familiaris est doctrina exemplaris."

<sup>8</sup> Ducange gives no instance of the technical meaning.

<sup>9</sup> Op. cit. p. 15—16.

<sup>10</sup> Hoffmann v. Fallersleben: Fundgruben für Sprache und Literatur, Breslau, (1830—1837). I p. 91.

<sup>11</sup> ed. Kelle: p. 169.

<sup>12</sup> Schönbach: Altdeutsche Predigten, Graz 1886—91, I. p. 57.

<sup>13</sup> Berthold v. Regensburg: Predigten, Ed. Pfeiffer-Strobl, Vienna, 1860—80, I. 572.

are no more precise than Latin, and both "exempel" and "bîspel" are used with the greatest laxity throughout our period. Geiler of Kaisersberg at its close, furnishes instances of a looseness of terminology which prevailed during the Middle Ages. Sometimes "exempel" for Geiler means simply illustration. — "Nim ein exempel wan ein junges dochterlin etwan berömpft ist, so stellt dy mûter das kind für ein spiegel",<sup>14</sup> sometimes it means pattern or model — "Solich sind gewesen Sanctus Paulus der erst ainsidel unnd Sanctus Anthonius — dize habent mit dem exempel ires hailigen lebens die ganze welt erleucht"<sup>15</sup>. While at other times, he seems to use it in a more ambiguous sense — "Wie oft ist so beschehen das mancher mensch in seiner letstên nôten wolt verzweifelt sein. . . . sollicher exempel sind die bûcher vol. Man lese Sanctum Gregorium und andere historienschreiber".<sup>16</sup>

The exemplum itself is ages older than its name and must have arisen with instruction, for it is one of the principles of pedagogy that all teaching is more effective when accompanied by concrete illustration. So the great teachers of the East constantly introduced stories to impress their message on the minds of their hearers, — the *Pantschanta*, the Bible, the Talmud, the Koran, are all full of parabola many of which fall under even a restricted definition of the exemplum. The Founder of Christianity followed the methods of His predecessors, and the Fathers of the Church, once they had adopted a definite creed which they wished to impose on others, were not slow to imitate. We have seen that they accepted the exemplum as a canon of homiletic theory and if evidence of their putting this into practice is scanty, it is because of the enormous influence of the symbolical school of preaching initiated by Philo of Alexandria. In the early centuries, preachers seem to have regarded the scriptures as a mysterious mathematical equation which it was their duty and delight to solve in terms of conventional symbols. Such a method naturally had little use for practical illustration. But these men of the 4th and 5th centuries did great service in providing material for later preachers. Through the influence of St. Jerome and other ascetics of the East a lively interest was aroused in the noble army of martyrs, the sponsors of the infant Church at a time when the humanity of its Founder had become sufficiently blurred for men to feel the need of heroes more akin to

<sup>14</sup> Narrenschiff — see Hub: Die deutsche komische humoristische Literatur, etc., Nuremberg 1856—66, p. 11.

<sup>15</sup> Von dem Berg des Schauwens, Cap. XII.

<sup>16</sup> Predigten teutsch, Augsburg, 1508. f. LXXXIII.

themselves. So the Epic of the Church arose and was set forth in the eternal mosaic processions of Rome and Ravenna at the same time as it found expression in the works of Cassianus,<sup>17</sup> of Gregory of Tours<sup>18</sup> and above all in the pages of the "Vitae Patrum", the monastic "Arabian Nights". This last named work remained throughout the Middle Ages the most fruitful source of exempla. Translations of it abound everywhere and its stories accumulate and undergo various stages of adaptation with the passing centuries. Many a tale of an "altvatter" is not to be found in the Latin version as we know it. It is indeed no marvel that the martial spirit of the Middle Ages should preserve in poetry and painting a fervent admiration for these ascetic heroes. They are as bold in exploit, as persistent in fighting the old enemy of mankind as any mailed warrior of heroic legend. And the gallery is not without humbler figures — a cloistered Cinderella, for instance, who is only forced to leave the rough work in the kitchen of her nunnery on the repeated inquiry of an esteemed visitor.<sup>19</sup>

The pendant to the "Vitae Patrum" is the "Liber Dialogorum" of Gregory the Great, written to impress the Bavarian Princess, Theodelinda, with the wonder-working power of the Roman clergy. It was translated into Greek by Pope Zacharias and into Anglo-Saxon on the instructions of King Alfred. Portions of the Dialogue were included by Vincentius in his "Speculum Historiale" and thereafter adapted by Maerlant. Its popularity in the Netherlands in the 14th and 15th centuries is attested by the existence of more than one Dutch translation of the whole work.<sup>20</sup> In Germany itself it became the model for Caesarius of Heisterbach and subsequent compilers of vernacular collections.<sup>21</sup> No less important than the Dialogues are the Homilies of Gregory. In them we have the first extant record of the use of exempla as part of the sermon. By the rapid and wide spread of his works, this practice was soon adopted in all Christian countries and in all vernacular tongues. The Anglo-Saxon translation assured a footing for the exemplum in England and the frequent glosses of Gregory's works in German are sufficient evidence of a popularity that lasted till the Reformation. The "De Pastoralis Cura" was one of the stock books of monastic libraries<sup>22</sup> and in the volumes of German sermons published by Schönbach, quotations from Gregory far outnumber those from any other source.

<sup>17</sup> *Institutio et Collationes* M. P. L. 49.

<sup>18</sup> *Liber Miraculorum* M. P. L. 71.

<sup>19</sup> M. P. L. 73 c. 639.

<sup>20</sup> De Vooy's op. cit. p. 19—20.

<sup>21</sup> F. g. MS Strassburg Germ. 198 for which see below p. 28.

<sup>22</sup> Hauck: *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* 3, and 4, Leipzig 19, 1914, II p. 204.

In the centuries following Gregory, practical discourses certainly must have been preached, but those which were considered worth recording are theological documents interpreting the Scriptures and having little relation to the conduct of life. In the 11th century the works of Petrus Damianus show that the taste for anecdote had not declined and to his contemporary, Bishop Anno of Cologne, has been given the credit of being the first German preacher to introduce exempla into his sermons.<sup>23</sup> But in Germany as in France, there are few instances of the practice before the 12th century. The first really important sign-post on the way of the exemplum in Germany is the "Speculum Ecclesiae"<sup>24</sup> of Honorius of Autun, written for preachers in the first half of the 12th century. Whatever the nationality of its author may have been,<sup>25</sup> the book itself was the channel whereby many stories already popular in France passed beyond the Rhine. Honorius never mentions his source, but he draws largely on the "Vitae Patrum". He generally introduces his stories with an apology couched in terms to suit his audience. Thus at the close of an address to merchants, he writes, "ne haec verba vento dentur, hoc exemplo in cordibus vestris solidentur",<sup>26</sup> and in a sermon to husbandmen, "ut hic sermo menti vestrae firmiter radicem infigat, palus hujus exempli eum fortiter imprimat".<sup>27</sup> The whole work contains some 30 exempla, including such popular stories as Theophilus, the Jewish child-martyr, and other legends of the Virgin. It was to prove a valuable treasure-house for later German preachers. Significant, too, for the further development of the exemplum is the recitative form these stories assume in the works of Honorius. Many sentences show a balance of phrase and a studied use of assonance. It is obvious that it was no enormous step from this kind of chant to the production of exempla in rhyme.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Cruel: *Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland*, Detmold, 1879, p. 86.

<sup>24</sup> M. P. L. 172.

<sup>25</sup> Kelle: *W. S. B.* 1901 and 1902.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* c. 865.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* c. 866.

<sup>28</sup> See Franz: *Drei Minoritenprediger*, Freiburg i. Br., 1907, p. 26 and Priehsch: *Die heilige Regel* (D. T. des MAs. 16) p. XVIII. The following may suffice as an example of rhythmical prose in Honorius M. P. L. 172 c. 867. "Filia, filia dulcissima nunc miseram matrem tuam adjuva. Recordare doloris quem habui quando te genui. Memento quali te cura nutrivit. Numquam tibi malum exhibui" etc. For an appreciation of the rôle of Honorius in the development of the German sermon, see Wackernagel: *Alt-deutsche Predigten*, Basel, 1876, p. 340, also Crane: *Mediaeval Sermon-books*, p. 75.

Honorius and his contemporary, Werner of Ellersbach, are heralds of the golden age of the *exemplum*, which, for Western Europe, falls within the last decade of the 12th and the first quarter of the 13th century. Men like Odo of Cheriton, Jaques de Vitry, Caesarius of Heisterbach, all products of the same schools of Paris, may serve as representatives of the new technique. The popularity of *exempla* at this period is but one sign of the great wave of quickening which marks the opening years of the 13th century as a climacteric period of human progress. In preaching, as in painting and poetry, architecture and legislation, these years are filled with a striving to break through the horizontals of tradition, the Cathedral of Chartres being as powerful a protest against feudalism as the contemporaneous Magna Charta. The new orders of friars, especially that founded by St. Dominic, brought with them a strong conviction of man's need and a fresh realisation of the sufficiency of the Christian message. Their dominant note is the Baptist's call to repentance and they emphasise it now by awful pictures of the pangs of hell, now by representations of the joys of paradise. This evangelical eagerness which led preachers to recognise the effectiveness of the *exemplum* as a means of saving souls is typified by the removal of the pulpit from its position before the altar to a place in front of the screen ("cancellarius"). The *exempla* of this period have the fantastic variety of the gargoyles and capitals of Gothic cathedrals. They are the exuberance of the monastic mind, which, while scorning the heroes of secular romance,<sup>20</sup> could find pleasure in stories of nameless monks and nuns, of Jews and outcasts and social heretics. Not that nobility is excluded; but kings and queens take their place in the ranks of the humblest and least reputable of their subjects as their fellow pilgrims: lords and ladies of high degree are interesting only in so far as they illustrate the central principles of the Church. Many of these stories will not stand the test of orthodoxy. They are an index of the democratic conceptions of theology prevalent in non-official circles. They represent in most concrete fashion the attitude of the mediaeval mind towards the miraculous. In early collections a certain restraint is obvious, but the very repetition of warnings against the use of sensational stories is evidence of their popularity. In the fifteenth century we find this kind of precept: "Du brauchst nit all wunder zu glauben, die du lesest in frommen Büchern; die wunder der schrifft sint wahrhaffte wunder und es gibt vil glaubhaffte wunder auch sunsten die dy lieben heyligen wurkkten durch Got; aber wiß viele sint dir mer zum exempel erzählt und zur

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Der Selentroist, Cologne, 1484, Prologue.

herrlichkeit von Gotes macht und Gewalt."<sup>30</sup> But on the whole, Carthusians and Cistercians were disturbed by no such doubts. The later Dominicans knew how to gauge the taste of their audience as the following advice shows — "Non eos apud curiosos auditores faciet generosos quos mira nature opera vel humane moencionis studia nam rata patefacta delectant sed etiam apud vulgos et simplices fructuosos constituēt dum per exempla ad sensum patentia spiritualia et sortilia declarabunt."<sup>31</sup>

The most outstanding contributor to exemplum literature is the Cistercian Caesarius of Heisterbach.<sup>32</sup> Drawing from sources both written and oral he has preserved over 700 exempla in his famous "Dialogus Miraculorum".<sup>33</sup> He used them copiously in his earlier Homilies but later his practice appears to have been modified by the objections of his critics. One well-known story in the Dialogue shows that Caesarius was aware of the danger of the new technique. "In solemnitate quadam cum Abbas Gerardus . . . . . verbum exhortationis in capitulo ad nos faceret et plures maxime de conversis, dormire, nonnullos etiam stertere conspiceret, exclamavit, "Audite, fratres, audite rem novam et magnam proponam. Rex quidam fuit qui Artus vocabatur." Hoc dicto, non processit, sed ait: "Videte fratres, miseriam magnam. Quando locutus sum de Deo dormitastis: mox ut verba levitatis inserui, evigilantes erectis auribus omnes auscultare coepistis."<sup>34</sup> It is interesting to compare this rebuke with the side light thrown by Geiler's faithful reporter at the end of our period. After the sensational adventures of one "der woust oder ful Cuntz", Pauli writes "und da das volck davon lachet, da lechlet der Doktor auch und sprach es steckt mer in dem feschlin".<sup>35</sup> Caesarius assures his public of his own innocence in the matter of invention.<sup>36</sup> As well-read as most of his contemporaries, he still owed most of his stories to oral tradition, for intermonastic visitation was as frequent in his day as manuscripts were

<sup>30</sup> Der Selenführer (Mainz 1498) quoted in F. Landmann: Das Predigtwesen in Westfalen, Münster, 1896, p. 149.

<sup>31</sup> Cgm. 9649 f 1.

<sup>32</sup> See A. Schönbach: Studien zur Erzählliteratur des MAs. IV. A. Kaufmann in "Annalen für die Geschichte des Niederrheins" vols. 47, 53. Wybrandts: Studien en bydragen.

<sup>33</sup> Ed. J. Strange, Cologne, 1857. See also A. Meister: Fragmente der Libri VIII, Rome, 1901.

<sup>34</sup> Dial. Dist. IV c. 36.

<sup>35</sup> Von der Uffart, XI, LXXVIII.

<sup>36</sup> Prologus: "Testis est mihi Dominus nec unum quidem capitulum in hoc Dialogo me finxisse."



rare.<sup>37</sup> His collection, which exists today in some fifty manuscripts, is of prime importance for the subsequent history of the exemplum in Germany.

Similar eclectic productions fill the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to confusion. In France, Jacques de Vitry and Etienne de Bourbon, in Italy Tomaso Leoni,<sup>38</sup> are representatives of this international species of literature. The "Alphabetum Narrationum", translated into Catalanian in the fifteenth century, and into English about the same time,<sup>39</sup> the "Legenda Aurea", that indispensable commentary of all mediaeval art, the works of Vincent de Beauvais and Thomas de Chantimpré — all are evidence of the great vogue of these fugitive themes. In the British Museum alone there are over a hundred collections of exempla in manuscript, many of them anonymous and no two exactly alike. Some of them show traces of a successive re-modelling as in the case of Arundel 406, a Cistercian collection evidently taken over by Dominicans.<sup>40</sup> The latter were particularly assiduous in the cultivation of the exemplum, each collector justifying his practice by a reference to the founder of the Order.<sup>41</sup> In the fourteenth century, the abuse of the exemplum called forth the protests of Dante,<sup>42</sup> of Wycliffe and other reformers, but the same century saw the production of the "Scala Coeli" of Johannes Junior and the monumental encyclopedia of John of Bromyard,<sup>43</sup> while the fifteenth century is represented by the exhaustive "Promptuarium" of Johannes Herolt, which quickly ran into many editions. Church councils repeatedly condemn these "aniles

<sup>37</sup> For a glimpse of his method, see Dialog. Dist. VIII c. 32 "Dominus Gerardus, Abbas noster rediens de capitulo generali haec nobis retulit asserens tunc recenter fuisse gesta."

<sup>38</sup> Fiori di Virtù, 1320.

<sup>39</sup> E. E. T. S. 1904.

<sup>40</sup> Pribsch, M. L. Review, 13 p. 472. cf. also Klapper: "Die Legende von dem armen Heinrich" (1914) p. 6 where a similar instance is noted.

<sup>41</sup> Cgm. 9649 f1. "Exemplum sequi desiderans patris nostri beati Dominici de quo inter alia legitur quod ubique conservabatur, edificatoriis affinebat exemplis quae ad amorem Christi nostri Domini sancti animos audientium flecterentur", repeated by Johannes Herolt. (Prompt. Prolog.)

<sup>42</sup> See Mosher, p. 16. He quotes a passage from Paradiso, Canto XXIX.

<sup>43</sup> John of Bromyard, so called from the village of that name in Herefordshire, was an eminent Dominican, active in the latter half of the 14th century. He was one of the doctors present at the condemnation of Wycliffe in 1382, and in the following year he was Chancellor of Cambridge University. Mosher (p. 82) places the completion of the "Summa Predicantium" in the opening years of the 15th century, but a late 14th Century Ms, Brit. Mus. Roy 7 E. IV, seems fairly complete.

fabulas", but they by no means disappear, although they cease to form part of the regular sermon, and it is a striking sign of the continuity of the mediaeval church that the stories told by Gregory the Great should be repeated by Geiler of Kaisersberg. In the middle of the sixteenth century, Herold, the scholar of Basel printed his huge collection (*Exempla virtutum et vitiorum*, Basel 1555) and a little later appeared the "Promptuarium" of the Lutheran preacher, Andreas Hohndorff (Leipzig 1568). In the seventeenth century, the popular court preacher of Vienna, Abraham a Sancta Clara, uses sermon stories to excess. His "Erzschelm Judas" is a collection of exempla strung together by the thread of the life of Judas Iscariot. He quotes an army of authorities from Gregory down to contemporary chronicles of all countries. Like earlier preachers he also draws on his own experience.<sup>44</sup> Modern Protestant preachers do not despise the exemplum although its place in present day evangelical preaching is usually in the "sermon to the children." Only the material has changed somewhat and if we wish to hear the stories of the 12th century pulpit we must seek them in the theatre rather than in the church.<sup>45</sup>

✓ The content of exempla is varied but it is naturally concerned with the punishment of the wicked, the reward of the righteous, the means of salvation — the efficacy of prayer, of confession and of the intervention of the saints. Many of them are fairy-tales in straight jackets contrasting strangely with the decorum of their surroundings. Friar-Rush-like they seem to have slipped into the monastery to escape later on a dubious career through vernacular literature. Oral tradition accounts for variants and contaminations. It also explains the localisation of exempla attributing them to particular places or people. A vague current story attaches itself almost automatically to appropriate characters. There was no reason why a miracle which happened in the Far East should not be repeated in the next parish, and when Caesarius tells the story of Theophilus about a youth of Floresse, he no doubt intended the Novice's reference to the similarity between the

<sup>44</sup> In the Staatsbibliothek at Munich there are two volumes of manuscript collections belonging to the 17th century, cgm. 4301 and cgm. 4302. The first contains 288 stories arranged for the different Sundays of the year and the exact source is always stated. Cgm. 4302, dating from the second half of the century, contains about three times as many stories derived from all sources, from the *Vitae Patrum* down to Abraham a Sancta Clara. About half of the exempla are transcribed in the original Latin, and there is even one instance (No. 295 in Pt. II) of a transcription in French. Chapter and verse are always quoted and a later hand has added parallel references.

<sup>45</sup> E. g. La Sœur Béatrice by Maeterlinck.

two tales to serve as an added proof of authenticity.<sup>46</sup> One notices also a change of characters in an exemplum in accordance with a development of popular belief. Thus, although certain localities preserve their patron saint, the Virgin appropriates the rôle of supernatural intervener from the thirteenth century on. Just as mediaeval painters never tire of portraying her life, so preachers vie with each other in collecting anecdotes of her favour towards sinners.<sup>47</sup>

The place of the exemplum, if it is not altogether excluded from the body of the sermon, is generally at the end, when hearers were in need of something to arouse their flagging interest. A fourteenth century manuscript of the exempla of Etienne de Bourbon<sup>48</sup> also contains very definite directions for their use under seven heads. They are here regarded as the legitimate stock in trade of preachers unversed in more serious patristic literature. They are to be used sparingly and the authority must always be quoted. Long stories are to be shortened and nothing incredible is to be related.

As a rule, stories are introduced by "legitur" or "audivi". Written sources are often indicated by the preacher himself, while modern editors have provided various collections with exhaustive tables.<sup>49</sup> The works most frequently drawn upon are the Bible, hagiographical and historical chronicles, moral and didactic treatises, and above all, the collections already referred to, which were prepared as a kind of dictionary for the preacher's use.<sup>50</sup> Later compilers generally copied from earlier writers, so it is not always possible to state exactly whose version of an exemplum lies behind a vernacular form. Frequent copying led naturally to a certain fixity of form and to an elimination of detail. The "*Summa Predicantium*"<sup>51</sup> may be the high-water-mark of the exemplum but stilistically it falls far short of the productions of the previous century. Instead of the circumstantial and intimate detail of Caesarius of Heisterbach or Jacques de Vitry, variations are generalised under a colourless "*quidam*". Instead of "*E b b o*" we have "*de quodam furte*" and instead of Beatrice, "*de quodam sacristina*"; and that not because later preachers took less pleasure in re-telling the stories; on the contrary, to judge from the

<sup>46</sup> Dist. II c 12 and Dist. VII c 10.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. De Vooy's op. cit. p. 47.

<sup>48</sup> Cln. 14817. The passage is quoted in full by Franz: op. cit. p. 124.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. e. g. Welther: *Le Speculum Laicorum*, VII et seq.

<sup>50</sup> For a classification of sources see Lecoy de la Marche: *La Chaire française au moyen âge*, Paris, 1877, pp. 302—4 and Mosher, op. cit. pp. 6—7.

<sup>51</sup> Mosher, op. cit. p. 82.

protests raised against them, one must credit them with some skill in the art of re-heating cold fare. Certain exempla became in time so familiar — “for silly people loven tales old” — that scribes could omit unnecessary details, so that, in later collections mere outlines are often given to be filled in by the preacher according to his taste. None of the Latin prose versions of the “*Beatrix-Legende*” printed by Watenphul<sup>52</sup> reach the 27 lines of the original story by Caesarius, and the shorter summaries all exclude, among other details, the heroine’s name. Writers give in full only stories which are new and unfamiliar so that, generally speaking, the brevity of an exemplum may be taken as a mark of its antiquity.

Such then, is the quarry open to the mediaeval German writers we are about to consider. It is no accident that the years which mark the vogue of the exemplum should, at the same time, be the era of the fabliau.<sup>53</sup> Twin offspring of the mediaeval imagination, fostered by the same influences, they are often only to be distinguished by their garb. The fabliau existed to entertain, while the exemplum had also to edify. But they overlap in that the latter was a narrative and the former had usually a moral of sorts. Sometimes cap and bells are exchanged so nimbly for frock and cowl, that the disguise can hardly be detected. The exemplum has not the dignity of early patristic literature just as the fabliau lacks the distinction of the court epic. Both are democratic — the reflection in literature of the rising bourgeois classes with their demand for realistic and utilitarian expression. The sensational element of the later exempla which disturbed the ecclesiastical conscience was doubtless due to the spread of the fabliau,<sup>54</sup> and the counter-influence, the penetration of exemplum motives into secular verse will be made clear in the course of this work.

<sup>52</sup> Die *Beatrix-Legende*, Neuwied, 1904, p. 19.

<sup>53</sup> According to Bédier (*Les Fabliaux* I p. 16) the reign of the fabliau is from 1159—1340.

<sup>54</sup> Mosher in summing up the progress of the exemplum in England writes (p. 139) “So by the middle of the 15th century an enormous variety of narratives had come into the class of exempla, which tended more and more to become entertaining stories rather than subordinate moral or religious agents”.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE EXEMPLUM IN MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN PROSE.

Throughout the Middle High German period, the use of exempla in prose resolves itself into the question of their use by preachers in sermons and didactic treatises. Naturally the exemplum appeared far more frequently in the early German pulpit than in early German prose, for while all sermons preached to lay audiences were delivered in the vernacular tongue, Latin remained the ecclesiastic's vehicle of permanent expression down to modern times. And even the German sermons which have been preserved, have been so altered in the transcription that it is not easy to treat chronologically any feature of them. The works of the most popular preachers were transformed and edited to provide edifying matter for reading and meditation for numerous nunneries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it is this mutilated form on which we must base our conclusions. In the interval between the living word of the preacher and the manuscript or printed sermon as we know it, many discrepancies were bound to creep in. Changing standards, ethical and aesthetic, are reflected in the process of manufacture and there is no more variable element of the German sermon than just our exempla. By some scribes and certain audiences they were regarded as temporal and trivial affairs. In more favourable circumstances they accumulate detail and usurp a place much greater than that intended for them by the original preacher.

Coming to the actual material, one is struck with the tardy development of the German sermon. There is no one to compare with Aelfric or Wulfstan. The earliest German sermons<sup>1</sup> are anthologies for the use of preachers, anthologies which are mere translations from patristic literature. In one of the first collections containing exempla — that published by Hofmann v. Fallersleben<sup>2</sup> from a Vienna manuscript — the personal note does begin to make itself heard. These sermons belong to the same stage of evolution as those published by Schönbach. They are expositions of the lessons for Sundays and Feast Days translated from the usual authorities<sup>3</sup> written in the twelfth cen-

<sup>1</sup> E. Steinmeyer: *Althochdeutsche Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin, 1916, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> *Fundgruben* I pp. 71–126.

<sup>3</sup> No. I based on Gregor. M. P. L. 76 c. 1169.

No. II based on Gregor. M. P. L. 76 c. 1179 etc. Linsennmeyer: *Geschichte der Predigt*, München, 1886, pp. 256 et seq. etc.

Nos. 30–33 Schönbach: *Mitteilungen aus altd. Hs.* II (W. S. B. 94) p. 201–204.

ture.<sup>4</sup> They are, however, by no means mere slavish translations. The preacher interpolates now a geographical reference,<sup>5</sup> now a record of heathen customs,<sup>6</sup> now a popular proverb.<sup>7</sup> In keeping with this kind of individual detail are the exempla of which there are four in the fragmentary collection. The first, in the sermon on the Immaculate Conception,<sup>8</sup> tells the story of the abbot who was convinced of the truth of that doctrine by finding his girdle lying clasped on the ground after it had slipped from his waist, a story taken either from the "Historia Scholastica"<sup>9</sup> of Petrus Comestor, or from his unknown source. It begins, "Wir lesen von einem guten abbet" and ends with a sentence of application. "Min vil liben, daz han ih in darumbe gesaget, daz ir unsers herren zeichen gelovbet und daz niht gedenchet wie er daz olde daz getün maeht want er mach allez daz tün daz er wil, daz wir doch mit unserm sinne niht ergrunten mugen". In another sermon<sup>10</sup> the story of the martyrdom of St. Laurence is summarised in sixteen lines, beginning "Ir seult iwren schiaz legen in die himelischen kamere. Ir seult tün sam Sente laurentius tet". The two remaining exempla are more interesting both in content and in the manner of their use. Sermon 11 (In annunciatione Domini) ends with a well developed legend of the Virgin, occupying thirty-three lines and introduced thus, "wir wellen iu sagen uon ir gute unt uon ir gnaden ein kurcez maere"<sup>11</sup> and closing with a sentence emphasising the need of prayer to the Virgin and her Son. The story itself is a combination of two of the most popular Mary-legends, the Drowned Sacristan and the Clerk of Chartres, both of which originated in France. It differs from all other known versions<sup>12</sup> in that the erring monk here slips into the water because the bridge is frozen and not because evil spirits push him or raise a storm. There is the usual strife

<sup>4</sup> The dialect is Bavarian. For the frequent use of "him, birt" etc. see Weinhold, *MHD. Grammatik*, par. 346--347. Throughout the older "Zehenzech" is used for "hundert". See also Notes to Schönbach, *Mitteilungen* etc. pp. 188--189.

<sup>5</sup> In No. III p. 77 l. 28.

<sup>6</sup> P. 85 l. 31.

<sup>7</sup> P. 95 l. 8. "also iwer sprichwort kint, ellin werlt winne zirget mit grimme". Two of the preacher's "husgenozen" are also referred to by name, p. 114 "Maister Gümperhtes und Maister Wizeperh".

<sup>8</sup> *Fundgruben*, I p. 75.

<sup>9</sup> *M. P. L.* 198 c. 1636.

<sup>10</sup> P. 99.

<sup>11</sup> P. 91.

<sup>12</sup> It is not mentioned in F. Ritter's Dissertation, "Der ertrunkene Glückner" (Strassburg 1912).

between devils and angels for the possession of the monk's soul, ended by Mary's command to open his mouth and thus reveal the Salutation in letters of gold, a motive from the Clerk of Chartres. The end, however, is as in neither story<sup>13</sup>. "Da hiez diu himelisc kuniginne die heiligen engile ir kapelanes sele hin ze gnadin füren". These variations are accounted for by the fact that the German preacher probably had the story from hearsay, but it is noteworthy that they reduce the sensational element, the result being a "subdued tone" which is also characteristic of the earliest exempla in English literature.<sup>14</sup>

✓ In another sermon<sup>15</sup> the Theophilus legend, the most persistent of all mediaeval stories, occurs for the first time in German. It, too, presents variants which are not to be found in any of the extant Latin versions. The first part is a translation of the story as it appears in Honorius<sup>16</sup>, but from the point where Theophilus is reinstated, the German legend goes its own way. The manuscript, moreover, is here incomplete so that we cannot judge of the end.

These then, are the first exempla in German prose taken from sources other than the Bible. Written at a time when Praemonstratensian and Cistercian monks were spreading the cult of the Virgin, it is not surprising to find two of these stories told in her honour, nor is it strange that there are no exact Latin parallels for tales which were in every pious churchman's mouth.

Less original is the contemporary Benediktbeuren Collection published by Kelle under the name of "Speculum Ecclesiae". These sermons are of varied length and purpose and they have revealed themselves to be a patchwork of translations from Latin authors. Schönbach<sup>17</sup> limits the part of the German writer to actual translation and presupposes an eclectic original compiled by a French contemporary. The most important source is the work of Honorius and in the translation<sup>18</sup> of his "Sermo Generalis", four exempla are inserted in Latin in a slightly abridged form. Elsewhere in this collection, stories are taken from the Old Testament, mainly to illustrate abstract doctrines, above all the doctrine of salvation. Such are the

<sup>13</sup> In the Drowned Sacristan the soul returns to the body, while in the Clerk of Chartres the end is an order for Christian burial.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Mosher op. cit. p. 35.

<sup>15</sup> P. 120.

<sup>16</sup> M. P. L. 172 c. 992.

<sup>17</sup> Studien zur Geschichte der Altd. Predigt, I (WSB. 1906) p. 139.

<sup>18</sup> Kelle: p. 167—171 cf. M. P. L. 172 c. 851.

story of Abraham's sacrifice,<sup>19</sup> of Samson,<sup>20</sup> and of Jonah.<sup>21</sup> Nearer our conception of an exemplum as a narrative illustrating a moral truth is a passage in the sermon "De Sancto Laurentio", beginning "Swër sin almosin gît und iz so gît daz er got daz bosir teil gît, daz ist got unmare daz erzeigte unsir herre wol an adams kindin"<sup>22</sup> on which follows a summary of the tale of Cain and Abel. Only one instance occurs of an exemplum told at length (the story of Paulus Simplex), not taken as "die heilige scrift" of the German would suggest, from the "Vitae Patrum" but from Honorius.<sup>23</sup> The German version is shorter than the original and has not its direct discourse. The only addition is the final sentence of application, "Nu denchet daz ane min vil lieben, wie groze mandunge den guten engelen ist daz sich ein suntare durnachtlichen becheret", which is no translation of the Latin "ecce carissimi ut iste meliorationem vitae Deo spopondit protinus ab eo misericordiam invenit".

The author of this collection then, inserts exempla where he finds them in his Latin original. The stories actually in German come, with one exception, from the Bible. There is no question of conventional place or form, but merely of translations in sermons which are themselves translations.

For the present purpose, the best anthology of this anonymous type of sermon is that of MS Leipzig 760, containing 259 sermons or fragments.<sup>24</sup> These sermons cover a considerable space of time and are the work of preachers of different outlook and training. But they represent German preaching of the early 13th century when the influence of the new monastic orders and of French scholasticism was already transforming homiletic practice all over Europe. From the dead "calque" of Latin sermons, German preaching was gradually to free itself and become now a torrent of scourging eloquence in the mouth of evangelists, now a white flame of mystic communion leaping from the hearts of visionaries. The Leipzig sermons mark the beginning of the transformation and in no way more clearly than in their use of exempla. There are numerous instances of the early habit of referring to a Biblical illustration or to an incident in the

<sup>19</sup> Kelle p. 113.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. p. 62.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p. 70.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p. 98.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. p. 122 cf. M. P. L. 172 c. 881 (p. 81).

<sup>24</sup> Leyser published 36 of these in his "Deutsche Predigten des XIII. u. XIc. Jhdts.", Quedlinburg, 1838 and 2 in Altd. Blätter. The rest form vol I of Schönbach's Altd. Predigten.



life of a saint.<sup>25</sup> In the "Dominica Quarta vel Sermo Communis" there are three complete exempla,<sup>26</sup> the source being definitely stated in each case, for the first two "der vetere büch" and for the third, the story of Lazarus, "wir lesen in dem evangelio". The first instance of the exemplum used in its regular place is at the end of Sermon 12 where there is a story of a pilgrim searching for Christ in the Holy Land, introduced thus, "nu wil ich uch ein kurz merichen sagen und wil es damit ende machen und daz gebe got und unser vrowe sente Maria daz wir des alle gebezzert werden".<sup>27</sup> A very much longer exemplum from the life of Joannis Eleemosynarius is attached to a discourse on the Good Samaritan, thus "Zu dem bispelle daz uch Gott gesagt hat so wil ich uch ein anders sagin uf daz uch gutir dinge niht vertrieze und als ir den armen dūritigen geselt den uch got gesetzt hat zu einime spiegel".<sup>28</sup> This comes in the first of a series of twenty-two "sermones dominicales" (Schönbach Nrs. 46—67) in fifteen of which an exemplum is introduced in the conventional manner and derived from sources other than the Bible. Five<sup>29</sup> of these are taken from the works of Gregorius and in four cases the authority is definitely stated — "als uns sent Gregorius sagt" or "Sent Gregorius der guter und warer spelle vil gerne phlach". Five<sup>30</sup> more are from the "Vitae Patrum" and one at least from Honorius.<sup>31</sup> Another<sup>32</sup> occurs in the Life of Saint James as we find it in the "Legenda Aurea" and another<sup>33</sup> is the story of Alexius saved by the prayers of his wife Jordana, told here without names as in the earliest Latin versions

<sup>25</sup> E. g. p. 18 l. 6: p. 26 l. 23 etc.

<sup>26</sup> P. 30, 12—22: p. 31 l. 40—p. 32 l. 16: p. 33, 11, 2—28.

<sup>27</sup> Schönbach's note on this passage (p. 57 l. 13) "die Erzählung steht bei Gregor Homil. in Evan. lib. II Nr. 34 (Migne 76c 1257c)" is wrong. Gregory's story has nothing in common with the present exemplum.

<sup>28</sup> P. 103 l. 26.

<sup>29</sup> P. 114 : 35—115 : 16. p. 116 : 19—28 (source not stated) p. 130 : 11 : 4—17. p. 138 : 16—139 : 21. Leyser p. 64 : 27—65 : 15 (from Dialog. IV M. P. L. 77 c. 384. The Latin originals of the passages in Schönbach's volume are indicated in his notes).

<sup>30</sup> P. 103 : 25—105 : 25. p. 107 : 3—108 : 11. p. 117 : 40—118 : 18. Leyser p. 76 : 22—77 : 1. Leyser p. 72 : 11 : 1—36 (man liest daz an einem büche das sagit uns vil und genuech was unser herre wunders beginge mit den heiligen vetern).

<sup>31</sup> P. 123 : 11—35.

<sup>32</sup> P. 131 : 39—132 : 35 (L. A. c. XCIV).

<sup>33</sup> Leyser p. 69 : 31—70 : 6. "Als die buche sagen" — cf. M. P. L. 145 c. 557.

by Petrus Damianus. The remaining two<sup>34</sup> occur fairly frequently in 13th century collections. Beyond these, there are two other exempla in the collection — a story from Honorius which finishes the fragment No. 183 in Schönbach and a Life of Maria Egyptiaca ending the sermon "In nativitate Mariae Virginis".

Although one cannot always be certain of the preacher's immediate source, one may still draw certain conclusions as to his method. Almost always the German story is an abridged form of the Latin, incidents and characters being suppressed sometimes to an extent that alters the whole effect of the story. In the Chrysaorius tale<sup>35</sup> the rôle of Maximus, the dying man's son, is omitted and in the story of Martyrius<sup>36</sup> and the leper, nothing is said of the prior and his monks who, in the Latin version, go out to receive the saint and actually see the miracle of the leper's ascension. These abridgements are generally tacitly performed but sometimes the preacher says "quid multa? was hilfet daz ich uch die rede lenge." Proper names are, as a rule, preserved and now and then, these are explained in a phrase of concrete detail — "Iz waz zu Alexandrie, daz ist ein strenge burk jensit mers und ist nu lider betungen mit den heyden; sie was aber hiebevör besezen mit der christenheit"<sup>37</sup> and in another place "iz was ein patriarcha zu Alexandrie der hiez Johannes und hatte einen criechischen zunamen Cleymon, daz ist barmherzich".<sup>38</sup> Short explanations and moralizations sometimes interrupt the narrative. Occasionally the preacher emphasises his naïve belief in the miraculous. In a death-bed scene, for instance, when angels come to claim the soul, he adds: "wane swō diechein christenmensche vorscheidet, da sin die tuvele, da sint uch die engele und warten weme er sule zu teile"<sup>39</sup>, and in relating a vision, "M. daz sach allez die arme sele des sichen mannes mit den geistlichen ougen, wane wir lesen daz an den buchen; so der lip niht mer insihet zu dirre werlde so sihet die sele zu jener werlde alles daz si je getet".<sup>40</sup> Or he

<sup>34</sup> P. 110 : 13—30 — Story of protégé of Saint Peter. Leyser: p. 67 : 16—38. Bishop Carpus and his vision (from Epistles of Dionysius the Areopagite M. P. G. III cols. 1087—1100). These two stories follow one another in Brit. Mus. MS. Arundel 506 f. 10b and the German is a literal translation of the Latin text given there.

<sup>35</sup> P. 116 : 17 Martyrius p. 130 : 4.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. p. 33 f. 6.

<sup>37</sup> P. 103 : 31.

<sup>38</sup> p. 117 : 40 Schönbach explains the paleographical transformation from "Elesmona" into "Clymon".

<sup>39</sup> P. 104 : 15.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid l. 25.

may add a comment of regret for the good old times to which his story belongs — "Owe vil lieben wie lutzil wir der bischolfte nu haben die unsern herren also erkennen".<sup>41</sup> Some of the additions lend precision of detail — "und san zu stunt quam also reine ruch und also gut in daz hus da der licham inne stunt als ob rosin und lylyen und andere gute blumen und wurze dar innen werin".<sup>42</sup> From the point of view of history, the most significant addition is the introduction of the Virgin into the story of Peter the Tax-gatherer of Alexandria.<sup>43</sup> In the struggle of angels and devils for his soul there is, in the original version of the "Vitae Patrum" no question of an appeal. Honorius, however, introduces a judgment scene where the Supreme Judge ("angelis orantibus") grants the soul permission to return to the body. The German preacher brings the story up to date by adding Mary in the rôle of mediator and he gives us one of those scenes so familiar in thirteenth century art and literature where the devils, however just their cause, are always overridden by the Mother of Mercy.

To sum up, this collection contains, apart from passages from lives of the Saints told in "Sermones de Sanctis" and other historical narratives used to explain festivals, and apart from mere references in one sentence, some 24 exempla proper and only three of these are taken from the Bible. In half of the cases, the source is either definitely stated or hinted at<sup>44</sup> and the large majority of the exempla end the sermon to which they are attached. As regards treatment one can assert an advance from slavish translation to a certain flexibility attained by individual comment and variations.

A striking illustration of the cultivation of exempla in the houses of the Cistercian Order is "die Heilige Regel für ein vollkommenes Leben",<sup>45</sup> a document written about the middle of the 13th century in some Rhineland monastery for the edification of nuns. It is, indeed, the first collection of exempla in German which we possess and had it been handed down complete, it would have contained about a hundred. As it is, there are forty-eight. In no case is the source mentioned, but for forty-one the editor has found either the direct Latin source or parallels. Two come from the New Testament, and the others are from works which would be available in any Cistercian monastery of the time, the works of Honorius, of Caesarius, the *Vitae Patrum*, the

<sup>41</sup> P. 118 : 25.

<sup>42</sup> P. 139 : 14 = qua (i. e. anima) scilicet exeunte tanta illic fragrantia odoris aspersa est ut omnes qui illic aderant inaestimabili suavitate repierentur.

<sup>43</sup> P. 103 l. 20. cf. M. P. L. 73 c. 356 and M. P. L. 172. c. 888.

<sup>44</sup> "Die scrift, die buch" etc.

<sup>45</sup> Edited in *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters* (XVI) by R. Priebisch.

Exordium Ordinis Cisterciensis, the Life of St. Bernard and other saints' lives. They are used to illustrate various rules of conduct and it is not astonishing to find legends of the Virgin predominating. The same story may occur twice, (e. g. No. 26 and 42) and two or three or even four, may be strung together without any intervening comment (e. g. Nos. 39, 40, 41, 42). For us the most important story in the collection is No. 22, the earliest extant version of the legend of "Friar Rush".

A comparison with the originals shows very varying levels of translation.<sup>46</sup> No. 13 — an exquisite tale of two girls of the same temperament as the heroine of "der Arme Heinrich"<sup>47</sup> for which no source is given, shows a much greater mastery of German syntax than, say, No. 14. It may be that the work was a composite one or that the more successful stories were written last. On most the Latin original has left traces both in vocabulary and syntax.<sup>48</sup> Sometimes rhymed assonances<sup>49</sup> find their way into the German and one<sup>50</sup> of the stories is told throughout in doggerel. There could be no better

<sup>46</sup> Owing to the lack of critical editions of mediaeval Latin texts, comparison is not always possible. Thus for No. 17 R. Priebisch's note runs "Vitae Patrum lib. vi. 3. 15 (Migne t 73 c. 1011 D) Auch hier steht näher Honorius Augustodun. Spec. Eccl. Sermo generalis (Migne t 172 c. 864 C) wo aber in der vorliegenden Fassung wenigstens, der Passus Z 13—Z 20 fehlt". The essentials of the missing passage are contained in the story as it is in the Vitae Patrum (e. g. Venit autem ei vox: Ecce mitto David cum cythara, etc. — unser herre sprach mit sozer stimme er wolte den künec David mit siner harfe dare senden) and the copy of Honorius used by the German author very probably also contained these details. The story occurs on the bottom margin of MS. Arundel 406 f 23a and 23b but it is there incomplete.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. p. 35 (the words of a bride on the eve of her wedding day to her sister destined for the nunnery) "Du wild diz himelriche ze herbe haben und mir dise zergengliche werld lazen: du hast Gotes sun zu einem brutegame erwelet und wild mir einen geben der hute lebet und morne mak sterben und mit deme ich mochte mine sele ewenclich verlesen".

<sup>48</sup> E. g. p. 401. 2 "cult" (lat. culter) and in No. 26 "Do daz capitel enden solde, die kunicliche maget kerte sich zu dem prior" (Cumque iam expleto capitulo solvendus esset ille conventus imperiosa Virgo conversa ad seniores illum) . . . .

<sup>49</sup> Cf. p. 38 l. 25 minnenchliche dochter min, nu hilf der armen muter din = Filia, filia dulcissima, nunc miseram matrem tuam adjuva.

<sup>50</sup> No. 35.

illustration of the rôle of the Cistercian Order in spreading exempla than this 13th century collection.<sup>51</sup>

Franciscan and Dominican itinerant preachers carried on the tradition. Peregrinus and Greculus<sup>52</sup> make free use of exempla but the sermons in German which have come down to us are less fruitful for our purpose. There is Berthold of Regensburg, for instance, the famous Franciscan about whose life little certain is known save the day of its close, — Bruder Berthold, who tramped the whole of South Germany from Zürich to Speier, from Colmar to Regensburg, bludgeoning the vices of his time with the force of a Luther, drawing everywhere immense audiences and appraised by contemporaries so far apart as Salimbene and Roger Bacon. He should prove in our study the landmark he is in the literary and social history of Germany. And yet, the task that meets us in his German sermons is not to study the exempla therein, but to explain their absence. The story of the unfortunate usurer who is compelled to jump into the chest containing his ill-gotten wealth is as solitary in the Pfeiffer-Strobl collection<sup>53</sup> as the tale from “*der altvetter buoch*” in the sermons of the St. Georgener Prediger,<sup>54</sup> stamped, for their editor at least, by the same great name.

In both collections there are numerous short references to lives of saints and to Biblical passages inserted at random and often fulfilling the purpose of the exemplum. Again and again we have “*man liset in den alten büchen von ainer fröwen*”, or the stories may be summed up in an epithet, “*her Kain der spötter und her Esau der frâz*”. But if there is hardly a trace of illustrations other than Biblical, there are substitutes on every page. Instead of recalling tales to serve as deterrents, the preacher constantly singles out sinners in his audience and addresses his warning to them without the aid of reference to past history or to literature. — “*Nû sich gîtiger, ir êbrecher, ir reuber, ir morder*” etc. When preaching on the duties of parents towards children<sup>55</sup> he does not trouble to quote any instance of the

<sup>51</sup> Ten of the stories of “*die Heilige Regel*” are reproduced in Cgm. 750 (1454—1468), viz. Nos. 6, 11, 19, 22, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 46. As the first nine of these are consecutive in the later Ms, it is natural to conclude either that the source was “*die Heilige Regel*” itself or that both used the same source — a Cistercian collection formed in a Rhineland monastery.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Franz op. cit. p. 119.

<sup>53</sup> I. p. 572.

<sup>54</sup> Ed. by Rieder (D. T. des MAs) p. 47

<sup>55</sup> I. p. 35.

Evil One coming to snatch away a badly brought-up child, but gives practical rules for the upbringing of the young which serve the same purpose of rendering his message concrete. Instead of repeating any of the familiar stories of the fate of all who amass wealth unjustly, he makes reference to the commercial tricks of everyday life, "So ist der ein trügener an sinem koufe, der gît wasser für win, der verkouft luft für brot unde machet es mit gerven daz es innen hol wirt". Must one then assume that the exemplum was no part of the equipment of a preacher who had other means of driving home his precepts and who certainly did not require to rely on any extraneous device for holding his flock's attention? In so doing, we should commit the same error as those students who judge of Berthold's manner of preaching,<sup>56</sup> of his syntax,<sup>57</sup> of his metaphors,<sup>58</sup> and also of his material merely from a study of these German sermons.

The older theories<sup>59</sup> that the German text represents Berthold's oratory "vom munde weg" have been exploded by Schönbach's researches.<sup>60</sup> These sermons were written down a considerable period after the preacher's death<sup>61</sup> and it is difficult to account for the omission of exempla. If we accept Schönbach's view that the Freiburg Latin volumes (Frib. 1 and 2) follow most closely Berthold's original words, then we must admit that he made frequent use of exempla of all kinds. The enigma cannot however be solved until we have critical editions both of Berthold's Latin and German sermons. It is scarcely likely that so popular a preacher would dispense with the exemplum, which has always been a feature of evangelical preaching.<sup>62</sup>

A similar case is that of the "Schwarzwald Prediger"<sup>63</sup> — also an itinerant Franciscan. In the fifty-one sermons attributed to him there are but five exempla — a brief summary of the Theophilus story, a still briefer reference to St. Martin and two stories from the "Vitae Patrum" (giving the source). In addition there is the long story of the obstinate knight visited on his death-bed by two youths who

<sup>56</sup> H. Greven: "Die Predigtweise des Franziskaners B. v. R." (1892).

<sup>57</sup> A. Roetteken: "Der zusammengesetzte Satz bei B. v. R." (1884).

<sup>58</sup> E. Nussbaum: "Metapher und Gleichnisse bei B. v. R." (1902).

<sup>59</sup> E. g. Grimm and Wackernagel in their histories of German literature.

<sup>60</sup> Über eine Grazer Hs. (1890) Studien zur Gesch. d. altd. Predigt 4—8 WSB. 1905.

<sup>61</sup> "A" the Heidelberg Ms. was written in 1370, i. e. almost a century after B.'s death.

<sup>62</sup> It is remarkable that in the case of Maurice de Sully exempla are preserved only in the French form of his sermons. (Bourgain, la Claire française au 12ième siècle, Paris, 1879, p. 258).

<sup>63</sup> Published by Grieshaber — see Franz. op. cit. p. 41.

display the record of his past life, a story which first appears in Bede's "Historia Anglorum".<sup>64</sup> And yet these sermons are thoroughly popular, popular in their directness, in their use of apostrophe and of dialogue. The absence of exempla may here too, be the result of the influence of later scribes and compilers.

Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, German homiletic literature is marked by a strong mystic tendency. There must have been much preaching of the evangelical type but rarely is the everyday discourse preserved for posterity, least of all in times when the task of preservation was in the hands of cloistered men and women, who, having turned their backs on the sins and pleasures of this world, wished to lose themselves in contemplation of the Infinite. Meister Eckhart's activities in Cologne were far-reaching in their influence, and men like Nicolaus of Strassburg and Johannes Tauler carried on the tradition where Eckhart had planted it, while Hermann of Fritslar bore it further east. The sermons of these men belong to the greatest monuments of German prose, but they are obviously of little account here. In the thirteen sermons attributed by Pfeiffer to Nicolaus there are only two exempla, one introduced thus — "Nû wil ich iu sagen eine rede: daz ich die nie gelesen hete, darumb nême ich niut fünf schillinge ald ein kappen, als ich einen an han. Dise rede vant St. Augustinus an einem brieve",<sup>65</sup> and there follows the story of the man who ceased giving alms because he doubted the reward to come. The last sermon closes with the tale of a hermit's unbelief and how it was cured. The "Heiligenleben" of Hermann of Fritslar, based on the "Legenda Aurea", contains several stories from the lives of the saints always introduced by "man liset" and generally finishing the extract. He also reproduces such popular stories as that of the Drowned Sacristan<sup>66</sup> and others whose source we have been unable to trace.<sup>67</sup> But these are rather exceptions.

Mysticism involves an intense cultivation of the inner nature and a necessary neglect of outward things. An uninterrupted contemplation of the Invisible supplants didactic directions for the conduct of life and poetic allegories take the place of exempla. Such, for instance, is the story of the Sultan's daughter, which is a favourite with mystic poets of succeeding centuries.<sup>68</sup> Another story, appearing in one of

<sup>64</sup> Cap. XII. the story occurs in "die heilige Regel" (p. 39). The source there as here is Honorius M. P. L. 172 c. 865.

<sup>65</sup> Ed. Pfeiffer p. 265.

<sup>66</sup> P. 19.

<sup>67</sup> E. g. p. 91 story of abbot and would-be monk.

<sup>68</sup> Spamer: Texte aus d. d. Mystik, Jena, 1912, p. 160. cf. J. Bolte: ZfdA: 34 p. 18.

Eckhart's "Sprüche"<sup>69</sup> is nearer the *exemplum* proper. In the collection of sermons by Tauler and his school, there is hardly a trace of the narrative element. Such stories as the mystic preachers use are not translations from Latin. They are often in the form of dialogue and are much more spiritual in content than the regular *exemplum*. The following extract from Cgm 86I (1504) ff. 69b—71b is a good example of the kind of story invented by mystic preachers: —

"Das ist der ander lesmaister. Der sprach zû ainem armen menschen. Got geb dir ain gûten morgen. Der arm mensch sprach. Herr den habt ewch selber. Wan ich gewan nye bösen morgen wan alles das mir got ye zeleiden gab das laid ich frölich durch got und daucht mich sein unwürdig vnd darumb ward ich nye traurig oder betrüebt. Der maister sprach wannen kumpstu. Er antwurt. Von got. Er sprach wa findest du got. Er sprach. Da ich alle creatur liesz da fand ich in. Er sprach. Wa hastu got verlassen. Er sprach. In allen minen hertzen. Er sprach wer pistu. Er sprach ich pin ain künig. Der maister sprach War über. Er antwurt im Über mein flaisch. Wan alles das meiner gaist begert ye Dar zû was mein leib noch behender vnd schneller ze würcken vnd zu leiden dan mein gaist zu empfachen. Der maister sprach ain künig müsz ain künigreich haun. Wa ist dein reich. Er antwurt in meiner sel. Der maister sprach. wie. Er sprach. Wan ich das thor meiner fünff synn verschlossen haun als got mit gantzem ernst begert hat. So find ich got in meiner sel als klärllich und als frölich als er ist in dem ewigen leben. Der mayster sprach. du magst hailig sein. Wer hat dich hailig gemacht. Er sprach mein stille schweigen vnd mein hoch gedenck vnd mein verainen mit got. Das hat mich in den himel gezogen. Wan ich kund nit gerasten in kainen dingen das wider got was. Nun haun ich got gefunden vnd rast vnd frew mich in got ewiglichen. Vnd das gût ist mir in meinem hertzen über alles das gût das in der zeit ist. Amen."

But the very country of Alsace whose capital was the refuge of the great mystic divines, furnishes us with a 14th century collection of sermons prolific in *exempla*.<sup>70</sup> In the 65 sermons of Birlinger's collection there are some 35 stories, the same one sometimes recurring. They are told at considerable length and often bring the sermon to a close. There is the usual introductory sentence, "daz wil ich beweren mit eime kurze merlin". In one instance, in a sermon in praise of the Virgin, the preacher gives the source of his story, "also wir lesent in dem wunderbûche do ir grosse wunder und irn zeichn an gestehn an geschriben sind". As in "die Heilige Regel", the Virgin has the largest share of *exempla*. There is a version of Theophilus (without a name), of the Drowned Sacristan, of the popular French story of the reconciliation of wife and mistress, of the

<sup>69</sup> Ed. Pfeiffer p. 623 cf. De Vooy's op. cit. pp. 332—334.

<sup>70</sup> Birlinger, Alem. I—II.



extravagant knight saved by Mary (in two distinct forms) and many others common to collections of Mary miracles. There are well-known stories like the King for One Year and Frau Welt, and others that are less familiar. Some are parables rather than exempla, such for instance, the one used thrice of the King and the servant who abuses his favour and is exiled to be finally recalled, and that of the vineyard destroyed by the king's enemy and replanted to be better than before. Throughout, the preacher seems to have taken pleasure in storytelling and we find him constantly lingering over his exempla.

The following century witnessed great activity in translating from Latin compilations of exempla, especially in the monastic houses of the Rhineland, Alsace and Bavaria. Most of these are still in manuscript<sup>71</sup> but they are sufficiently alike in subject and style to warrant our taking one, Ms. Strassburg Ger. 198, as typical. This manuscript which is not without interest for students of didactic literature in the later Middle Ages, is described thus by Becker<sup>72</sup> — "Papier: 1463 geschrieben. 102 M 11. 29×20,5 cm; Mundart obd. Die Hs. ist ein Exempelbuch". It consists of two parts, (a) fol. 1—16 being a treatise in dialogue form, and (b) fol. 19a—102a, a collection of exempla as illustrations thereof. On ff. 17a and 102a—b there are fragments in a 17th century hand and in a similar hand on the top margin of f. 9a we find. "Mon. Eremitarum S. Augustini Friburgi Nuithonum 1654". With the exception of these fragments and of col. 2 of f. 23a, the manuscript is written in one hand, each page being divided into two columns with an average of 34 lines each. Initials and headings of exempla etc. are written in red, as are also corrections which appear in the margin. Punctuation is shown by capitals (struck through with red) and the usual contractions are found, e. g. final or medial 'n' marked thus "minē", "pūcte". The name of the scribe is given on f. 16b. — "Deo gratias Bernhard Ditz ist der erst teil Bittent got für

<sup>71</sup> E. g. Doctor's Hartliep's translation of Caesarius in Brit. Mus Add 6039, Straßburger Hs. 863, for which see Bär's Dissertation and Pfeiffer in Germania III, Cod. pal. germ. 118, see Dissertation by Carl Reinholdt, (1913), Cgm. 626 der Magnet unser lieben frawen (1493), the 4th part of which contains 263 exempla, Cgm. 750 (1454—68) already referred to, Cgm. 531 (1420) etc.

<sup>72</sup> Katalog der deutschen Hss der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek. Strassburg 1914, p. 69. His transcription of the rubrics is full of errors. The Ms. is mentioned in F. Ritter's "der ertrunkene Glöckner" p. 23 and by F. Bär, op. cit., p. 74, and in Footnote <sup>a</sup>) to p. 337 of De Vooy's op. cit. According to communication from Dr. F. Ritter the Ms. is No. 2122 in the catalogue about to be issued.

den schriber mit eim ave Maria" and the date appears on f. 101b "Also ist der anderteil disz buchs z ouch usz 1463 an sant andres aben". A terminus "post quem" for the original occurs in exemplum Becker No. 144 (beginning on f. 74a) which ends "Das war MCCCCXXXV jar".

Many forms peculiar to the Alsatian dialect indicate the home of the manuscript e. g. "ener" (MHG "iener" see Paul MHG Gramm. (1918) p 53) "drösten", "dröstlich", "kilch", "kilchwy" (Paul p 43) "núť" "y" in words like "ysen", ô < â "dô" etc. (Weinhold Al. Gr. 1863 par. 44) u < iu, "frund", "hutte", "tufel" etc. (Weinhold par. 47).

With regard to the content, it is clear that both parts are the work of the same man. The opening words of the second (f. 18a) run — "Nach allem minen vermugen danch ich dir deiner arbeit und guter lere mir stat aber noch eins usz dasz mir zumal drostlichen wer und dir gar liecht zu folbringen wer und ist min begierde daz du mir uff etliche puncte diser materien oder uff si alle wellist sagen besserliche byzeichen Durch die ich die obgeschriebene puncte desterbasz behalten möge wann ich wol weisz daz die byzeichene etwann me underweisen denn schlechte schrifft. Der Meister sprach Ich hette gemeynt dir wer von mir einfaltigen genug beschechen" — and in the course of Part II we find other references to the content of Part I, e. g. f. 88b (Ein hüpsche frag von der gezierde der fröwen) "als denn davor in disem büchlin vertlich davon geschriben ist" (referring to Part I). The dialogue form is a favourite with all writers of didactic literature from Plato to Caesarius and here the rôle of the disciple is absolutely formal and indeed he falls out halfway through, his last appearance being on f. 59a. He serves to introduce new matter, reminds the master to keep to his text and utters the intelligent comments which every speaker likes to imagine in the mind of his audience.

Part I has been wrongly bound. The sequence is as follows: ff. 1, 3, 5, 6, — — 9, 8, 4, 2, — — 9—16, and it is not clear whether the second group should not come first. In any case after folios 2 and 6, passages are missing. We are launched in f. 1 into a discussion of the dangers of death-bed repentance and on f. 3 after an indictment against vain people, a new subject is introduced by the disciple "mich erschrecket uber die masz din ler und merck doch wol daz si war ist Doch hoff zu got daz sollicher lutt wenig funden wird under dem krancken geschlecht der fröwen Der M Eya du bist an der hoffnung betrogen swerlich Sichstu núť mit dinen ougen wie die fröwen zu unsren zitten ein leben fiiren. Si volbringen unrein und unkúsche grosz laster Sag mir wa ist ietzen wiplich scham kúscheit vnd guter lument" and there follows the familiar monastic tirade on the wiles of

women.<sup>73</sup> F. 7 deals with the necessity for early repentance and the last part (ff 9—16) is a tract on Holy Dying, the most frequent theme of church literature. On f. 15b there is a reference to a contemporary work (probably Gerson's "de Arte Moriendi" translated by Geiler).<sup>74</sup> "Dar uff dir zu antwurten wise ich dich in das büchlin von der kunst des sterbens da du me findest wie du dich halten söllest". At the end there is a sermon of Christ's not contained in the Gospels and an injunction to practise the precepts here given brings the treatise to the conventional benediction — "Die (i. e. ewige froïd) verlich uns and allen den die ir begeren got der vater der sun and der heilig geist".

The heading of Part II shows that we have here exempla translated from Latin — fol. 19a "Hie vachet an der ander teil disz büchez und sint von allerley exempel oder byspel zû tutsche" and further down on the same page we gather that the original was no single manuscript. "Do du aber furbasz fragest so musz ich aber das beste tun wie wol mir gar swere wirt sy zu sûchen." In accordance with the content of the preceding treatise, most of the exempla would fall under the rubric "De praemiis mortuorum". There are stories of the dreadful punishment of the wicked, of robber-knights who oppress the helpless, of women who overdress, of blasphemers and, above all, of usurers. And to balance these, there are pictures of the reward of the blessed, the joy of the penitent, the harvest of almsgivers and of all who have found means of grace in the sacraments of the Church. There are in all 191 exempla — Becker's Nos. 1 and 2, 10 and 171 are not exempla, his 28 is a continuation of 27, 73 is a mere reference to the story of Tundalis,<sup>75</sup> while he omits one after Nos. 37 and 40.

<sup>73</sup> The following recalls passages in Berthold (c. g. I, p. 396, 23). Die richen iungen bürgerin mit iren töchtern und megden wann sie leben ietzen nüt nach dem göttlichen gesetz als inen zugehort in zucht vnd erber wandel besunder sie machen sich glich den meerwundren vnd syrennen in mengerley färw der cleider in wunderlich zersniten der cleider si hant nüt allein grosz dick slëyger sie brouchen sich ouch als die man kuglen vnd anderen cleidungen als wämesch ermel vnd prisze zû ytelheit vnd uppigkeit dadurch sie grossen frost im winter vnd hitze im sumer liden dasz si dick doch umb ir sund willen oder umb gotts willen nüt tetten".

<sup>74</sup> Contained in Ms. Strassburg L. Germ. 565 ff. 209—224. and in L. Germ. 180 ff. 162—253.

<sup>75</sup> (47a) "wir haben öch davon ein lang grusselich geschicht von (in margin) einem verruchten ritter genant tundalus der geling starb uber disch und von der X stunden der mitwuchen tot was ontz uff die (?) stund des samstags und söllich pin sach und entphant und öch fröid das er darnach als sin gütt durch gott gab und also lebt das er nu heilig ist worden. Das geschah MC und XLVIII jar zû den zitten sant bernhartz. Davon zû schriben wurd vil zu lang so ist ouch davon ein sunderlich büchlin gemacht."

Sometimes the translator indicates his source as in f. 100a: "Disz und vil me schribt gregorius in der leyen rede von dem richen man" (i. e. Hom. in ev. M.P.L. 76 col. 1310). The accompanying table gives some idea of the sources of these exempla, although the proportions may not be exact, for it is not easy to decide whether a story has been taken straight from the original of Jacques de Vitry or from the "Alphabetum Narrationum" or any other of the later collections. Thus B. 174 is contained in the Dialogues of Gregorius, B. 175 in the "Vitae Patrum" and B. 176 in the "Legenda Aurea", but as these three stories follow one another in the "Alphabetum", it seems natural to suppose that the latter was the translator's source of all three. And so it is in many other cases. If almost one fourth are still unidentified it is because many of them have been summarised past recognition. The table represents fairly accurately the sources which were in vogue at the end of the 15th century and their relative popularity.<sup>76</sup> The ascendancy of encyclopaedic collections is obvious.

It is dangerous to draw conclusions as to the method of translation but as a general rule the German exempla have lost many details including proper names, an exception being the Servulus of B. 174 which is given as 'Knechtlin'. Palaeographical slips lead to various blunders as in B. 94 which ends: "Das kint hiesz Achab und ist geschechen in flandren in der statt corinthe" where in the original of Thomas Cantimpratus we have Ahas as hero and Thorough in Flanders as locality. The following may serve as an example of translation: —

B 116 Wie ein prediger offenbart wucherer.

Crane No. 179 (exactly similar in A.N. which only lacks the concluding moral). Unde cum quidam predicator vellet omnibus ostend-	(f63a) Eyn erber prediger wolt offenbaren wie gar es ein schentlich verworffen ding wer umb ein wucherer. Als der am ende
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<sup>76</sup> cf. Cgm. 626 (1493) 85 b ich hab auch söllich exempel genommen aus püchern gewessen sein geistlicher leut vn ettlich hetten titel der namen die da söllich exempel peschriben haben, vn ettlich hetten kainē titel / das man nit mag gewissen der namen die sy hañ **geschriben** / darum wa ich gefunden hab den titel der namen in den püchern die söllich exempel von der lobsamen iunckirawen marias geschriben haben / so hab ich die selben pezaichnet pey den exempeln / vnd zu zeitn verkürtz gesetzt vn nemlichn hab ich etliche genonē aus dem puch genant der spiegel der geschicht das der lere vincencius geschribn hat / und aus dem puch **genant** promptuariū disciply / vnd etliche aus dem puch von der natur der bñnn (i. e. Liber de apibus) das geschriben hat der übertreflich doctor thomas prabantiñ der prediger ordens ist / vnd auch etlich aus dem puch genant der spiegel der exempel.



ere quam ignominiosum sit feneratoris officinum quod nullus publice audet confiteri dixit in sermone: Volo vobis facere absolutionem secundum officium et ministerium singulorum: surgant porro fabri. Et surrexerunt, quibus absolutis ait: "Surgant pellifarii". Et surrexerunt et ita secundum quod nominabat diversos artifices consurgebant et tandem cum clamaret "Surgant usurarii ut habeant absolutionem" licet plures essent de usurariis quam de aliis hominum generibus, nullus surrexit sed omnes pro verecundia abscondebant se et latitabant et ita aliis ridentibus et iridentibus illos qui ministerium suum confiteri non audebant feneratores recesserunt confusi.

siner predige die absolutze sprechen solt sprach er zu dem folck das ieglichs sölt uff stan den ablasz und die absolutz enphachen nach seiner ordnung und geheissen. Do sprach er zum ersten Stant uff ir schmid. Si stunten uff er sprach uber sy die absolutz. Er sprach, stant uff ir metzger etc. und also von den andren antwerks luten. Zu lest sprach er stand uff ihr wuchrer und wie wol vil gegenwertig waren so stund ihr doch keiner uff besunder si verborgen sich vor schande und als ir die andere alle spotteten und ir lacheten giengen die wuchrer enweg on absolutz.

We close our consideration of this representative collection with a transcription of one of the exempla for which we have found no Latin source: —

Becker 144 (f. 74a): "Wie got es wol gefalt das eins sinem vigend vergibt Es was ein riche mechtige witwe vnd burgerin zû fenedye Die hatt einen einigen sun den si als billich was fast lieb hatt vnd vmb sinen so wolt si keinen andren man nemen Als si gern zû den kilchen vnd predigen (74b) gieng fügt es sich bald nach dem ostertag als si vnd ir sun gebichtet vnd das wirdig sacrament entphangen hatten das si aber zû der predige wolt gan Si schickte iren sun vor hin das er ir vnd im ein gútt statt behielt die predige zû hören Als der sun gieng ylende vnd das thûn wolt Do waren zwen man uff der strassen die schlügen mit ein andren mit mes<sup>se</sup> in zorn Der jungling wolt si scheiden also ertot in einer Der selb wart flüchtig vnd kam von geschicht in seiner mütter husz vnd sprach zu der mütter der erbren fröwe Ach gnedige fröw ich han ietzunt ein mönsch ertötet in eim zorn. Ich bitt úch beschirmet mich vnd helfent mir des lebens Ich musz anders ouch sterben. Er enwust aber nû das es des ertotten junglings mütter was Si sprach bisz sicher Ich wil dich wol behütten si fûrt in zu aller obrist in ir husz und verbarg in under das tach an ein heimlich statt Als si nu mit im umb gieng vnd in verbarg und in trost Do hort si ein grosz getümmel und geschrey fûr ir thûre Sie luff har ab vnd wolt gesehen was es wer Do sach si ir einiges kint tott vnd ermurdet

Si gehub sich úbel als dz billich was Si liesz in bestellen uff die bar Als nu das folck zerstróut vnd das geschrey vnd clag etwas gelag Do sùcht den totsleger als wyt die stat was in allen husren an allein nút in dem husze daryn der tott gehort. Do gieng die mütter zu im uff das husz vnd sprach jm Ach du lüdiger mönsch wie hastu mir so ubel gethan du hast mir min einigen sun getottet wie sol ich mit dir leben Der arme man fiel ir zú fús vnd zoch das messer usz vnd gab es d' fröwen die da getrübt wz vn sprach (75a) Sehent liebe fröwe das messer da mit ich úwern sun han ertöttet. Ich sich wol dz ich nut dar von kome Darumb so ertöttet mich den ich das wol umb uch verschult han Die fröwe erzittret vnd sprach das wil gott nut das ich dir gerett han das wil ich dir halten vnd vergib dir darzu von gantzem hertzen das du mir min einiges kint ertött hast Als es si nu zitt dücht Do leit si im fröwen cleider an si gab im dar zu X duccatten zu zerung vnd hiesz in sölt sölichs bessren vn' ouch fúr sy vnd iren sun bitten Darnach über kurtz erschin ir die sel ires suns clar' denn die sunne uñ danckte siner mutter sere der barmherzigkeit die si mit dem mörder begangen hetti vnd sprach wüsse liebi mutter Als ich geführt wart fur den richter cristū den heren Do gab er das urteil Das ich von der büsz wegen die mir umb min sún als ich in der fasten gebichtet hatt vnd die noch nút follenbracht hatt vnd ouch von teglicher sund willen die ich von ostren untz har gethan hatte wie wol ich da zwúschen kein tot sünd begangen hat solt XV jar in dem fegefúr sin Do du aber minen totsleger söllicher gnade tettest vnd im gantz vergebt durch gottes willen Das gefiel dem heren als wol das er mir die XV jar ab liesz vnd mich bracht in die ewigen fröide dar in ich ietzunt far Das du aber wusstest das ich war seg so soltu wissen das du uff den tag sterben wirdest vnd mit mir die ewigen fröid besitzest Die Fröw seit da irem bichter Si starb uff den selben tag der bichter prediget das dar nach offenlich vnd ist der bichter darnach uber kurtz ouch gestorben das wer MCCCCXXV jar Dar usz merck wie groß ist das eins sim fyent von hertze vergibt."

To the sphere of translation belong such collections as "der Sele Troist", "der Sele Würtzgarten" etc. The first of these is divided into two books, treating the ten commandments and the seven sacraments respectively, at least such is the intention of the author but he digresses from his purpose. What he gives is a series of stories gathered from many sources<sup>77</sup> with intervening sentences in dialogue form.

<sup>77</sup> Edition of 1474 Introduction "Liber iste collectus est ex diversis libris. De biblia, de passionali, de historia ecclesiastica, de speculo historiali, de decretis et decretalibus, de cronicis diversis, de vita patrum, de dialogo, de

The method followed is best summed up by the author — “ich hayn des also geramet wa de reden tzo lanck synt unde vordroislych da wyl ych et uffbrechen wa getzwat unnutzes ys unde unverstendlich dat wil ich overslan unde wat tzo kortz ys dar wyl ich getzwat tzo setzen, wat der wahrheit nicht en ghelydet wil ich underwegen laten unde ich wil keysen al dat beste dat wayr is unde dat suverlich unde troystlich ys”.<sup>78</sup>

At the end of the century and of our period we find Geiler of Kaisersberg. He is for fifteenth century preaching what Berthold is for the thirteenth, popular in the sense of being in close touch with the people, and the sermons which he delivered from the beautiful pulpit erected during his ministry in Strassburg Cathedral, are a good example of the homiletic literature of Germany on the eve of the Reformation. He may not have the originality of the Franciscan Frar—Geiler had been professor of philosophy at Freiburg, and he never lost his professional reverence for learning—but he possesses the same directness of censure, the same astonishing comprehension of the dangers and needs of daily life. He identified himself not only with the welfare of the many nunneries in his district but with the proper conduct of municipal affairs, and the Prologue to “The Twenty-one Articles”<sup>79</sup> gives a vivid picture of the learned doctor called upon within the precincts of the Cathedral by two of the City Fathers to justify his very severe criticism of their conduct. With Geiler, as with Berthold, there are no German sermons actually from his own hand, but thanks to Johannes Pauli we can form a fairly accurate estimate of this preacher who looked on his own oratory as blasts of a trumpet before which the walls of wickedness would ultimately fall down. We are never in danger of forgetting the actual milieu of his activity—Basel, Schlettstat, Hagenau, the Breusch valley—he has as wide a prospect as the spire of the Cathedral itself and the numberless exempla which are interwoven in his sermons remind one of the crowded stained-glass windows of the south aisle.

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compendio theologie, de summa Raymundi, de summa viciorum, de summa Hothfridi, de summa Heinrici, de summa virtutum Et de omnibus libris quoscunque legere potero et audire intentionis mei est colligere et scribere quidquid est devotius ad audiendum quidquid delectabilius ad legendum quidquid facilius ad intelligendum.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid p. 7.

<sup>79</sup> Dacheux. “Die ältesten Schriften Geilers von Kaisersberg”, Freiburg i. Br. 1877—81



For Geiler habitually used exempla. Even in the “Twenty-One Articles” we find the story of Date and Dabatur.<sup>80</sup> In “der Pilger”, one of his earliest sermons, exempla are so combined with the discourse that it is not always easy to see where they end. The tract consists of 20 directions for the pilgrimage of life, directions as to outfit, and conduct by the way. Often instances are drawn from the Bible, “wir muessen thon als davit da er mit dem golias solt fechten” and for the other stories, the *Vitae Patrum* is the most frequent source. Sometimes the preacher refrains from telling a story because he is pressed for time, “Als gethon hat S. Arsenius, sant Elizabeth ains kunigs tochter vnnnd vil andere die lang wären zu erzählen. Ich lasz sy aber fallen umb kurze willen bis an vier sün ains kunigs von schotten”. Other stories are introduced by “ich liesz” or “Augustinus in dem buche seiner beichte”. There are more frequent references to pagan classical writers than in earlier sermons, Terence, Plato, Ovid (“der schamper lerer”) find a place beside St. Jerome and St. Augustine; Holcot and Gerson are also quoted. Sometimes the preacher draws on his own experience: “ich hab zwen gekent vor dreissig iaren”.

One characteristic feature of Geiler's exempla is their discursiveness. He often breaks the thread of a story with extraneous remarks. One example may suffice. “Also thet ain jüngling der wolt auch got gern gedient haben, ich habe es mer gesagt, es verdreüssst mich nit wider zu sagen ich waisz wol das es nütz bringt. Etlich meins gleichen weiß sy ain ding ainmal gesagen so wöllen sy es den nymmer sagen, sy schämen sich und maynen es sey inen ain schand sy thund als ain thoretter ritter der in streitt zeücht weiß er ain messer oder ain schwert zway oder dreü mal gebraucht so wil er es dann nit meer brauchen und meynet es say inen ain schand. Ain witziger ritter nimt das schwert damit er offft gefochten hat und überwunden und das schwert bewert das es gut ist, des gebraucht er sich meer und berumbt sich des das er so vil damit geschaffet hab aber die herrischen schämen sich der alten guten waffen. Also tund auch dise narren Es ist als eytelige hochfahrt es ist narren werck, *Ad propositum*. Es was ain jüngling,”<sup>81</sup> and after a few sentences he digresses again. In another passage<sup>82</sup> he interrupts a story from the *Vitae Patrum* to explain the difference between oriental graves and those familiar to his audience. Another such interpolation has a local interest. “Wir lesen von einem Burger von Bononia der schicket sinen sun gen Parysz

<sup>80</sup> Ibid in Art. XII: vom Spital.

<sup>81</sup> Der Hasz im Pfeffer — 8te Eigenschaft, Strassburg. (1510).

<sup>82</sup> Brösamlin XXVIII.

uff das studium (das lasz dich nit frembd neme mancher schicket sinen sun von Basel gen Heidelberg uff die hoch schvl deszgleichen thun die von Heidelberg auch schicken ire sun anderwahin wan sie geraten selten in irem heimat mancher kauffmann sendet sun in welsche land)."<sup>83</sup>

When we compare the Latin with Geiler's German, we find the usual mutilation and omission of proper names. As a rule the translations are accurate, but there is a familiarity of diction greater than anything we have met. The words of the young brother who asks the patriarch for help, are a good illustration — "ich mein ein ding ein ding lassen sein und wöl ni rüwen dann ich fall stetigs in sund". where the Latin has simply "Quid faciam O Pater, quoniam cecidi".

Such then is the progress of the exemplum in German prose from the twelfth century to the fifteenth. Like all other ecclesiastical adjuncts it was imported into Germany, and just as Caesarius the Cistercian was the most important German contributor to Latin exempla so the same Order has provided the earliest and best native collection ("die Heilige Regel"). The coming of the friars fostered the use of exempla although the part played by the most famous Franciscan still remains a mystery. If the exemplum is not attached to the great names of the fourteenth century mystics, it flourished all the time in the by-paths of the commonplace, above all in the numerous translations which we owe to the industry of the monastic houses of Alsace and the Rhineland. Finally it appears with the tangled profusion of a creeping plant in the sermons of Geiler of Kaisersberg.

It is interesting to compare this progress with the development of the exemplum in England. Had we included the Old High German Period in our study, we should have seen that in Germany as in England, it was the translation of Boethius which was responsible for the first appearance of the illustrative narrative in the vernacular tongue. In both countries early exempla are restrained in tone<sup>84</sup> and throughout the period the line of development shows similar curves at the same points and for the same reasons.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Von uppiger cer LVIIIb (Brösamlin).

<sup>84</sup> cf. p. 18 above.

<sup>85</sup> Mosher attributes the absence of English Franciscan documents to the habit of extempore preaching. He also comments on the lack of the narrative element in sermons of the 14th century due in England as in Germany to the ascendancy of mysticism (p. 106).

### CHAPTER III.

## THE USE OF EXEMPLA IN MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN VERSE.

- a) Exempla of the Virgin.
- b) Other Exempla    1. in religious verse.  
                              2. in secular verse.
- c) Der Welt Lohn.

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In the study of Exempla in Middle High German verse, some kind of classification seems necessary. That adopted in the following pages is not entirely satisfactory, but it is natural to give preference to those exempla which were rhymed in honour of the Virgin. It is also convenient, in the case of other exempla, to separate the poetry of the church from that of the world. The dividing line thus drawn cannot but be arbitrary at times, for it is not easy to pigeon-hole even mediocre poets, especially in an age whose culture was predominantly ecclesiastic.

Most of the poets here concerned were also preachers, in purpose, if not actually by profession, but it seems natural to look for exempla in the first instance in the works of men who spent their lives within monastic walls, and thereafter to indicate to what extent lay poets — authors of epic and long didactic poems and writers of short rhymed narratives — were indebted to sermon-stories for their material. Finally, a sketch of the fate of one of these stories, "Der Welt Lohn" should serve as a cross section of the whole matter, proving the continuity of exempla as an undercurrent of inspiration for Middle High German verse.

- a) Exempla of the Virgin.

The Virgin may be called the Muse of mediaeval art. She attracted men of all ages and callings. In the homage of her hosts of worshippers, accidents of chronology and distinctions of status disappear. Already in the eleventh and twelfth centuries there are many lyrical tributes to the Virgin. The earliest rhymed exemplum in her honour seems to be the anonymous "Jüidel",<sup>1</sup> written towards the end of the twelfth century. The story of the Jewish schoolboy who

<sup>1</sup> Germ. XXVII p. 129.

took communion with his Christian schoolmates and was miraculously saved by the Virgin from the ensuing parental punishment, was a favourite with all mediaeval preachers.<sup>2</sup> It has found endless variations in vernacular literature.<sup>3</sup> The German poem has details which are present in none of the extant Latin forms — intimate details of treatment which suggest a poet with realistic powers of observation. Such, for instance, is the removal of cobwebs from the image of the Virgin (l. 87), and the prayer of the schoolboys, who solicit Mary's help to escape the dominie's rod (ll. 67—72).

The same Jewish boy finds a place in the galaxy of Mary legends presented by the author of the "Passional".<sup>4</sup> Here, too, the poet is anonymous. He was a cleric writing in the second half of the 13th century, and he is believed also to be the author of the "Veterbuoch".<sup>5</sup>

In this collection Mary appears as the Mother of Mercy, protecting her devotees in their hour of need. Men, women and children, cloistered monks and war-like knights, the learned and the simple, saints and sinners — all find in her an unfailing support in this world and an eloquent advocate in the next. The painter saved from bodily hurt, the erring monk from spiritual damnation, the thief preserved from death, the knight from dishonour, the poor mother who makes successful appeal to Mary's maternal instincts, the gossiping monks who escape the toils of the devil by calling on her name — these and many others form a procession of familiar figures, all anonymous, save the celebrated Theophilus.

The poet's dependence on Latin sources has been established,<sup>6</sup> but there is still room for a statement of his practice in the case of the Mary legends. From the "Legenda Aurea", the main source of all his work, are derived 14 of these legends, viz. Nos. I, II, IV—VII, IX, XIV, XV, XVII, XIX, XX, XXIII,<sup>7</sup> XXIV. The others, with one exception, have been found in contemporary collections. Nos. VII, X—XIII, XXV<sup>8</sup> are in the original Pez series while Nos. XXI and XXII<sup>9</sup> are in manuscripts of which that series forms the nucleus. The

<sup>2</sup> cf. Honorius MPL 172c 852.

<sup>3</sup> Wolter "Der Judenknabe". Halle 1879.

<sup>4</sup> The text used is Pfeiffer's, Stuttgart 1863.

<sup>5</sup> DT des MAs XXII, (1914). See Introduction.

<sup>6</sup> Tiedemann E. "Passional und Legenda Aurea" (Palästra 87).

<sup>7</sup> Tiedemann (op. cit. p. 8) refuses to accept LA as source, but a comparison reveals no adequate reason for its rejection.

<sup>8</sup> See Sprenger in Germ. XVII for discussion of influence of "das Jüdel".

<sup>9</sup> XXI in MS. Brit. Mus. Egerton 117f. 174 and Paris lat. 18134 cf. Mussafia, Studien zu den Marienlegenden Heft I p. 985. XXII in Mussafia's PVM series.

"Libri VIII" of Caesarius provides the source of Nos. III and XVI leaving No. XVIII without a satisfactory source.

In treatment, the poet does not venture far from his Latin originals; the changes which occur are mainly stilistic. Every story either opens or closes with a moral, for this poet loses no opportunity of preaching. The closing formula "des si gelobet diu kunigin" is repeated with the regularity of a benediction. There is an attempt to psychologise — to make the different characters more alive by converting the indirect discourse of the Latin into direct speech. Some of the interpolations show the poet's knowledge of ecclesiastical rites, e. g. in II ll. 31—37 which are an explanation of "festum purificationis beatae virginis" and further on in the same legend we have:

1. 123 nach den quâmen zwêne man  
die sich heten angetan  
als noch hute in hochzit  
dyaken and subdyaken pflit  
Und zu dem amte sulen lesen.<sup>10</sup>

Other additions show that he was not altogether remote from the world as in the following expansion — LA "dum omnia bona sua indiscreta liberalitate dispergeret",

XX 1. 19 den turnei selten er verlac  
da bî er ofte suchen pflac  
beide tyost und fôrest.  
und swâ er immer was gewest,  
da jach an im der liute lob,  
wan sîn gabe was so grob  
spillûten unde vrîen,  
daz si musten schrîen,  
mit offenlichen worten  
sîn lob an allen orten.

His procedure with proper names is that of most translators of exempla. As a rule, he suppresses them, the one exception being in No. IX "Sicilja hiez und ist ein lant" where the Latin version<sup>11</sup> does not locate the story at all. The name was probably transferred from the passage immediately following the Latin narrative, which begins "Apud Siciliam". The "Marienlegenden" have been reckoned the poet's greatest achievement.<sup>12</sup> Like the monk of legend, his letters are of gold when

<sup>10</sup> Tunc per chorum respiciens vidit duos conferarios, subdyaconum, dyaconum et sacerdotem sacris indutos vestibus ad altare procedentes tamquam missarum sollempnia celebrare volentes.

<sup>11</sup> L. A. ed. Graesse c. 131, 8.

<sup>12</sup> Tiedemann op. cit. p. 140.

the Virgin holds his pen and he doubtless felt more at home with the motley of common folk round whom she spreads her ample cloak than with the austere saints and hermits of the early church.

By far the most popular of these legends is "Theophilus". He is as ubiquitous as any figure from folk-lore. He appears constantly in the pulpit<sup>13</sup> and on the stage, in the carving of choir stalls<sup>14</sup> and in the tracery of stained glass windows.<sup>15</sup> A literary treatment of this theme would require a volume to itself, but it is evident from the references of poets in all parts of Germany and in all ages, that Theophilus had won very early a recognised place in the society created by mediaeval imagination. The most attractive forms are the Low German dramas which have been published by Professor Petsch.<sup>16</sup>

But Theophilus is not the only Mary legend which is found in varying poetic forms. Some are repeated without any appreciable difference, e. g. the story of Eppo the thief, which is the subject of a Rhine-Frankish poem written about a century later than the "Passional".<sup>17</sup> The story of the simple priest who could only say one Mass,<sup>18</sup> the legend of the monk whose aves were seen as roses,<sup>19</sup> were rhymed by anonymous clerical poets, who used the same sources as the author of the "Passional". More interesting is the variation of the story of the extravagant knight saved from the devil by his pious wife's appeal to the Virgin. The form in Lassberg's "Liedersaal" (CLXXXI) shows contamination with other legends, for the knight is here asked to deny the Virgin, and it is because of his refusal to do so that he is saved from fulfilling his bargain on the day of reckoning. In other motives, e. g. the knight's courtesy to his wife, this later rendering approaches the French treatment, "Le dit du povre chevalier".<sup>20</sup> The very similar story of the prodigal who refused to deny Mary (Pfeiffer XXIV) and was afterwards rewarded accordingly, has also been rhymed twice.<sup>21</sup> The second form closely resembles the exemplum as given by Vincent de Beauvais.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> See above p. 18.

<sup>14</sup> e. g. in Notre Dame in Paris.

<sup>15</sup> e. g. in Cathedral of Le Mans.

<sup>16</sup> See R. Petsch, *Theophilus* (Heidelberg 1908).

<sup>17</sup> *Modern Language Review*. Vol. I. (1906), pp. 55 ff.

<sup>18</sup> V. der Hagen, *Nachträge GA*, LXXXIX cf. Pfeiffer.

<sup>19</sup> V. der Hagen, *GA III*, 749 cf. Pfeiffer VIII.

<sup>20</sup> Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil de Contes*, Paris 1839—42, I, 138.

<sup>21</sup> Lassberg CCVI.

<sup>22</sup> *Spec. Hist.*, Douai, 1624 VII. 105—6.

Another legend not in the "Passional", but included in most collections of Mary Miracles, is that of the girl spared because of her name. It occurs in two different forms — V. der Hagen, III, 73 (I) and Keller, "Erzählungen aus altd. Hss.", p. 41 (II). The facts in both cases agree with those given in the "Speculum Historiale" (VII, 102—3), but the poet of I was certainly a layman. Certain of the motives come direct from the fabliau — the character of the heroine, for instance, which by no means corresponds to the original, and also the rôle of the cunning old woman as go-between, instead of the usual manservant. Less certain is the status of the author of II. The introductory praise of the Virgin is too conventional to serve as evidence.<sup>23</sup> Other motives and lines show a familiarity with secular literature.<sup>24</sup>

Other legends belonging to the same period are the famous "Bruder Felix"<sup>25</sup> and the less celebrated "Thomas v. Kandelberg".<sup>26</sup> The former is almost as great a favourite with preachers and poets as "Theophilus". The exemplum as it occurs in a sermon of Maurice de Sully<sup>27</sup> seems to be the basis of the Cistercian monk's poem.

"Thomas v. Kandelberg" exists in two versions, and Stehmann is probably right in concluding that the unpublished poem of cgm. 714 (I)<sup>28</sup> is the earlier. In the version of the "Gesamtabenteuer" (LXXXVII) he sees the work of a cleric, who emphasises the religious side of the story and attaches it to the person of Thomas of Canterbury, the hero of I being designated simply as "Thomas, lieber geselle". Stehmann, however, seems unaware of the earlier existence of the exemplum as told by Caesarius.<sup>29</sup> Here the story is already attached to the English saint, and the name in I is doubtless a reminiscence of the

<sup>23</sup> Sye ist eir rose an allen dorn  
Und eine taube an gallen, etc.

<sup>24</sup> p. 48 L 30.

Der Ritter seinen knecht hiesz  
Daz er ein kerczen für yn stiesz

Die des nachtes vor ym pran. et seq.

cf. Peter v. Stauffenberg l. 700. Er hies vñel geneme

Ime sinen knaben zunden nider.

<sup>25</sup> V. der Hagen, GA. III, p. 701. For the history of this exemplum see E. Mai, "die Felixlegende", Acta Germanica, Neue Reihe 4.

<sup>26</sup> GA. III, 572. See also Stehmann in Palästra. Bd. 67.

<sup>27</sup> See Klapper. "Armer Heinrich", p. 12. Footnote 2.

<sup>28</sup> Loc. cit. p. 130, 5. Lines are missing in this copy. The original seems to have been Alsatian. cf. rhymes pat: not, got: rat, etc.

<sup>29</sup> Fragmente der Libri VIII ed. Meister, p. 161, reproduced in appendix, p. 117.

exemplum. One can assume the source of it to have been some written form of the same exemplum ("als ich gelesen han in eim puch"). The Latin of the original has left traces in words like "pellein", "casell" etc. If I is complete as it stands in the manuscript, then the poet of II supplemented his predecessor's work by a knowledge of the story as Caesarius tells it, for in accordance herewith he adds the hero's promotion to a bishopric.

His very acquaintance with Caesarius, as well as the interpolated praise of the Virgin, suggest that he too, like the author of the "Felix-legendé", was a monk of the Cistercian Order.

In the same great Heidelberg manuscript (cod. pal. germ. 341),<sup>30</sup> which contains most of the poems already mentioned, there are other Mary legends, the authors of which cannot be relegated so easily to clerical circles. Of these one of the longest is "Unser Frauen Trost",<sup>31</sup> written by Siegfried der Dorfer, of whom nothing further is known. He can scarcely have been a cleric, but his attitude towards the Virgin and the description of her in l. 203 ("die truck ein einvaltik gewant in grawer varwe wol bekant") would point to a training in a Cistercian monastery or some similar connection. The home of "der Frauen Trost" is in the middle reaches of the Rhine, and we believe its direct source to be an exemplum contained in the British Museum Ms. Arundel 506 ff. 26a—27b,<sup>32</sup> a manuscript written in the early years of the 14th century and belonging formerly to the monastery of St. Michael near Mainz. The summary of the Latin story runs as follows: "Knight beats his wife savagely for her devotion to the Virgin, she bears this patiently for years, but at last despairs and goes into the orchard to hang herself while he is at a tournament; the Virgin saves her from suicide and sends her into the chapel where she has a vision of Christ crucified; the knight is converted by seeing Christ's blood on the wall".<sup>33</sup> The following parallels show clearly the dependence of the poem on the exemplum:

Quidam erat miles dives valde	l. 18 Ein ritter eteswenne saz
Uxor militis predicti multum devota beatae Virgini in ea (i. e. capella) orationes et psalterium as-	l. 20 er was des guotes riche.
	l. 65 Diu guote vrowe gerne pilak daz si naht undi tak

<sup>30</sup> DTdMAs XVII.

<sup>31</sup> Text in GA III, 433. The editor refers to an old French poem, which has nothing in common with the German poem. cf. also Pfeiffer *ZfdA.* VII.

<sup>32</sup> Transcribed in Appendix pp. 118—21. A later, condensed version is in Ms. Strass. Lat. 150, f. 10b.

<sup>33</sup> Ward III p. 541.



sidue legit pro quo a viro suo  
multotiens verberibus correpta.

tantum percussit quam ad terram  
cecidit.  
et hoc sine aliqua culpa

Sed scio quod faciam: me ipsam  
suspendam et sic habebō finem.

De curia ipsa clausit portam . . .  
et projecit claves in piscinas.

Cogitavit quod vellet intrare ca-  
pellam et vellet dicere beatae vir-  
gini.

Omnia bona quae feci in elemos-  
inis et jejuniis penitent me fecisse  
propter virginem mariam quae me  
in tantis miseriis non respexit.

Quasi estis vos karissima domina.  
Illa ait: ego sum mater Christi

Statim cum mulier audivit nomen  
Mariae expergesta cecidit ad ter-  
ram.

an irem gebet dikke was  
und den salter überlas.

1. 33 es was ir misseraten genuck  
daz er si schalt unde sluck.  
cf. 1. 76.

1. 108 Mit den zöpfen er si nam  
und warf sie vür die vüeze.

1. 37 Von iren schulden kwam es  
niht.

1. 133 Min kumber wil sich lengen  
ich wil mich selber hengen  
E ich es die lenge lide  
Niht lenger ich ez mide.

1. 160 Si suochte mit ir selbeshant  
Die slüzzel alle geliche  
Und giengk gegen einem tiche  
der was bi dem hove na  
dar wart der vrouwen sêre gâ  
die slüzzel warf si dar in.

1. 184. Die vrowe lerte iren sm  
wie sie zuo dem tode kreik  
daz si gegen unser vrouwen  
uick.

1. 93 Nun han ich doch vil manche zit  
Got gedienet so man pflit  
und seiner lieben muoter  
daz si, noch er, vil guoter  
mich nie trosten umb kein  
har.

1. 265 guote vrowe wer sit ir.

1. 317 sie sprach; ich binz, Maria,  
Gotes muoter.

1. 335. do si daz gehorte an unser  
vrouwen worte  
Do vil si under uf daz gras.

Such parallels could be multiplied. They show a striking similarity of expression. In re-telling the story, the German poet has interpolated many reflections, mostly of a didactic nature (c. g. ll. 22-25, 51-54, 94-104, 148-151 etc.). Elsewhere the story would seem to have lost in austerity of tone. There is not, for instance, in the German poem the same immediate conviction of sin on the part of the would-

be suicide. Indeed she protests that she will carry out her intentions unless the Virgin show her a better way (ll. 340-346). It is not for a fitting penance that she afterwards prays to Christ, but for help to sustain her burden. Neither does the German reproduce the proof of the miracle in the blood-stain left on the chapel-wall: the knight is persuaded of the truth by his wife's behaviour and by her eloquence. There is a certain dramatic desperation in the efforts of the poor woman to evade her protectress: —

l. 246 Mit zorne si die rede anfiengk  
In dem garten si da giengk  
Und sloz die tur vil vaste  
Mit eines boumes aste  
Daz si die vrouwen von ir vertribe  
Und al eine darinne belibe.

And while in the Latin she is accosted twice by the stranger, she is here interrupted three times in her criminal preparations. Whoever Siegfried der Dorfer may have been, he must either have heard or read this story in a form not greatly differing from that of Arundel 506. Besides didactic additions, he has only made such changes as would seem natural to an artist who perceived the possibilities of his material.

As a final specimen of exempla rhymed in honour of the Virgin, we take the legend printed by Bartsch<sup>34</sup> from a 14th century manuscript written in Thuringia. The story is of a simple scholar who, on the Feast of the Assumption, tried to take his place in the choir with his fellow choristers. But the teacher, noticing that he wore no shoes, turned him away. In vain the boy prayed the Virgin to supply his need. When he had said 600 Aves, she appeared to him and offered him the choice of reigning as bishop for thirty years, or of dying within three days. He chose the latter, and went home rejoicing. Next day, the teacher chastised him for his absence at vespers, but, on learning of the vision, he repented his harshness, and sent the boy home with two of his comrades. There, at the appointed time, the Virgin came to receive him into her heavenly company.

Such is the "mêre" told by Heinrich der Cluzenere, as the poet calls himself (l. 45). He quotes as authority, one Bruder Pilgerim, Guardian von Görlitz. Bartsch suggests, on somewhat scanty evidence that he is no other than the author of the "Passional". So far we have not found a Latin original, but it doubtless exists in one of the many "Libri miraculorum beati virginis". The poet digresses at intervals—e. g. to give the history of the Feast of the Assumption (l. 145—188),

<sup>34</sup> Stutt. Lit. Ver. LIII. "Marienlegende". See Introd. p. l. et seq.

or to sing the praises of poverty (l. 244—271). The style of the pulpit is preserved. After enumerating the blessings of poverty, he turns to the audience, “Ir armin, hât ir daz gehort?” and the last thousand lines are an application, beginning.

“Ir kinder volget alle nu  
Dar zu di grisen alden.”

This review of exempla rhymed in honour of the Virgin is representative, if it is not complete. They have the characteristics of mediaeval art. On the whole they are anonymous and their themes are repeated with what may seem a monotonous insistence. Their interest lies in the treatment of details, and above all in their sincerity of purpose. They have the effect of the endless Madonnas on backgrounds of gold, which line the walls of European art galleries.

b) Other Exempla. — 1) In religious Verse.

The poetry of the mediaeval German church differs only externally from its prose. Books of the Bible, Lives of the Saints, and the Liturgy were all expounded in verse by men whose ecclesiastical training had, in most cases, been tested by pulpit experience, or who, as lay brethren, had ample opportunity for hearing sermons. “Die Rede vom Glouven”<sup>35</sup> which contains the earliest rhymed exempla, is merely a sermon, or series of sermons on the tenets of the Nicene Creed by “Der arme Hartmann”, probably a lay brother in some monastery of North-East Thuringia.<sup>36</sup> It belongs to the first half of the 12th century and shows traces of having had a fairly wide circulation,<sup>37</sup> although only one manuscript has survived. Many of Hartmann’s phrases are homiletic formulae<sup>38</sup> and in his use of exempla he follows contemporary preachers very closely. With the exception of the story of Lazarus (ll. 2684—27664) his exempla are strung together to illustrate the grace of God towards sinners. The account of the penitent thief on Calvary (ll. 1845—1925) is followed by a procession of familiar figures — Theophilus (ll. 1926—2001), Peter the tax-gatherer of Alexandria (ll. 2002—2113), Maria Magdalena (ll. 2116—2233), Afra (ll. 2238—2263) and Maria Egyptiaca (ll. 2264—2330) — all of them stock illustrations of the doctrine of salvation through grace.<sup>39</sup> It is the conversion of

<sup>35</sup> Massmann: “Gedichte des 11ten u. 12ten Jahrhunderts”. F. van der Leyen: German. Abh. Heft 14.

<sup>36</sup> cf. Van der Leyen: op. cit. p. 29.

<sup>37</sup> According to Van der Leyen the original was copied and commented on by a Bavarian scribe and later by a scribe of the Rhineland.

<sup>38</sup> cf. Van der Leyen, Tables on pp. 82 op. cit. et seq.

<sup>39</sup> cf. Honorius: M. P. L. 172 c. 881, c. 844, c. 1018.

these sinners which is emphasised by the poet; in all cases he condenses interesting details of their previous life and relates only their penitence in full. Even here, he is sometimes confused, as at the end of the Theophilus story, which shows contamination with the legend of the servant of Protherius, the two stories being doubtlessly often associated with one another.<sup>40</sup> To compensate for the suppression of incident, Hartmann frequently interrupts his narrative, now by an apostrophe to Christ (ll. 1940—9), now by an allusion to His life-story (ll. 2051—9). These stories were obviously of no interest to the poet except as improvisations on his great theme: —

1. 1838 Manigen sundigen man  
 hastu genade gethan  
 beide man unde wib  
 den gebe du den ewigen lib  
 durh dines selbes ere.

Just as the mediaeval representation of the Madonna and Child demands as its essential pendant the portrayal of the Dance of Death, so “die rede vom glouven” finds its complement in “von des todes gehugede”.<sup>41</sup> Together they represent the sum of 12th century theology. Heinrich v. Melk’s “Strafpredigt” is influenced in content and expression by similar contemporary “carmina de contemptu mundi”, notably by the poem of Anselm of Canterbury.<sup>42</sup> The passages which come into account here are the three “bispiel” — 1) that of the king’s son whose life is a burden to him (ll. 511—543), 2) that of the lady confronted by the corpse of her husband (ll. 597—635), and 3) the dialogue between the dead knight and his son (ll. 663—800). From the structure of the poem (see Heinzel pp. 8—9) it is obvious that Heinrich meant these ‘bispiel’ to fulfil the purpose of the exemplum in the sermon. The narrative element, it is true, is overshadowed by the poet’s dramatic fervour. They are not related in the third person, but addressed directly to the chief character — “Nu ginc dar wip wol getan” and again “richer und edeler jungelinc merche angestlichiu ding”. But there is evidence that in these passages, Heinrich was not merely unconsciously imitating contemporary homiletic practice, but that he had probably definite exempla in mind. He knew the “Speculum Ecclesiae” of Honorius from which he had taken the story of Mary Magdalene (l. 26 et seq), but he also knew at least one other exemplum in that collection — that of the hermit who was shown the

<sup>40</sup> e. g. in Honorius: M. P. L. 172 c. 844.

<sup>41</sup> Ed. R. Heinzel, Heinrich von Melk. Berlin 1887.

<sup>42</sup> See Heinzel op. cit. Introduction and Notes.

contrast between the end of the poor and the rich — for he translates a sentence of that story when he writes: —

l. 571 “mit schoenen phellen bedechet  
mit manighem liecht bestechet.”

(“Divitis autem corpus serico involutum cum cereis et lampadibus sepulturae tradebatur”).<sup>43</sup> In the case of the dialogue between the dead knight and his son, Heinzel (p. vi) points out the parallel between it and the French story of Simon de Crespi who was moved to become a monk by the sight of his father's corpse. He does not mention the fact that this was a familiar sermon-story in the 13th century<sup>44</sup> and it very probably existed as such earlier. We suggest that Heinrich v. Melk either read or heard the story in a form similar to that in which it has been preserved by Herolt.<sup>45</sup> In the case of the other two passages no such definite evidence of their dependence on exempla can be produced. The illustration from the life of the King's son is closely reminiscent of the passage in Anselm's poem beginning “Rex appellaris . . . .” and the main idea of the third “bîspel” is contained in the same author's *Meditations*.<sup>46</sup> In the latter instance, Heinrich has produced something which reads very like the story in the *Vitae Patrum*<sup>47</sup> of the hermit whose carnal lust is cured by contemplation of the corpse of his temptress. Indeed, the situations of all three “bîspel” occur frequently in exempla although the sentence quoted above remains the only tangible proof that Heinrich made use of contemporary sermon-stories. Like Hartmann, Heinrich groups his exempla round his text — “memento mori”. That text determines their content but it is the almost fanatic earnestness of the poet which gives them their distinctive dramatic form.

Between Heinrich von Melk and Ulrich Boner, the classic in this field of exempla rhymed by clerical poets, there is a long interval of time, to be explained by the supremacy of the Virgin. Most of the Mary legends already considered, fall within the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. There is naturally a corresponding difference in style for it was during these years that popular taste veered round from the lengthy epic to the short narrative poem.

<sup>43</sup> M. P. L. 172 c. 864 D.

<sup>44</sup> *Anecdotes* ed. Lecoy de la Marche p. 68 cf. Alexander Neckam: *De Naturis Rerum* — Rolls ed. p. 334.

<sup>45</sup> Herolt — *Promptuarium* No. 339 — see Appendix p. 124.

<sup>46</sup> See Heinzel's notes and parallels.

<sup>47</sup> M. P. L. 73 c. 744, c. 878.

Boner's "Edelstein",<sup>48</sup> written before 1340, and sufficiently in demand to be the first German book to leave the printing press,<sup>49</sup> has exercised the wits of scholars from Lessing<sup>50</sup> onwards. Recently the work has aroused fresh interest and many mediaeval storehouses have been ransacked in the effort to determine its sources.<sup>51</sup> Here as elsewhere, the slight variations in the different stages of an exemplum are obstacles to finality in the matter, but a careful survey of previous investigation results in the following statement of the sources of those fables of the "Edelstein" contained neither in the Avianus nor in the anonymous Aesop collection, which Boner himself mentions.<sup>52</sup>

From the "Alphabetum Narrationum" Nos. 87, 92, 100.<sup>53</sup>

Either from A. N. or from Jacques de Vitry Nos. 52, 82, 85, 95.<sup>54</sup>

From the "Disciplina Clericalis" of P. Alphonsus Nos. 71 and 74.<sup>54</sup>

From D. C. and A. N. No. 76.<sup>55</sup>

From J. de Vitry No. 48.<sup>56</sup>

From "Liber de Septem Donis" Nos. 24 and 98.<sup>57</sup>

From J. de Cessolis or the very similar Latin original of the "Libro de los enxemplos" Nos. 72, 97, 58.<sup>58</sup>

From Odo of Cheriton Nos. 2, 70, 49.<sup>59</sup>

From John of Bromyard 96.

Four fables are therefore unaccounted for, viz. Nos. 4, 53, 89, 99, though for some of them parallels have been suggested. A British Museum manuscript of the "Alphabetum Narrationum" (Ms. Harley 268 f. 139b) reveals the source of No. 89. The summary of the Latin story runs: "(Legatum). Man leaves an ass to his three sons, each in turn

<sup>48</sup> Ed. Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1844.

<sup>49</sup> Bamberg, 1461.

<sup>50</sup> Werke (Lachmann) Bd. IX 7, 54, Bd. X 348--353.

<sup>51</sup> Gottschick (R.): Über die Quellen zu B's Edelstein (1875) ZfdPh. VII, 237. Über die Zeitfolge in B's Fabeln (1879) ZfdPh. XI, p. 324. Über B's Fabeln (1886). B. und seine lateinischen Vorlagen (1901). Waas: Die Quellen der Beispiele M's. (1897). ZfdA. XLVI. 341. Schönbach ZfdPh. VII, 251. E. Schroeder ZfdA. XLIV. 420.

<sup>52</sup> See end of No. 60 and beginning of 61.

<sup>53</sup> Schroeder loc. cit. p. 428.

<sup>54</sup> First discovered by Gottschick (ZfdPh. XI). In his latest work he prints the Latin texts.

<sup>55</sup> Schroeder p. 421.

<sup>56</sup> Schroeder (p. 428) insists on the large part played by oral tradition.

<sup>57</sup> Waas p. 69.

<sup>58</sup> Schroeder p. 428 and Gottschick.

<sup>59</sup> Gottschick (1901) p. 8, 17, 38. Waas considers the divergencies too great to admit of Odo as direct source.

to use it for a day: each trusts to his brothers to feed it".<sup>60</sup> The narrative corresponds exactly to the German poem. Only the moral, in the Latin, a warning to legators and legatees, has been adapted to fit Boner's text "Von ubriger Kargheit". One sentence will show that the German fable is but a rhymed version of this exemplum: —

"Cogitabat enim quod frater suus l. 20 "der man gedacht, er ist nicht din,  
qui eum (i. e. asinum) in crastino      dîn bruoder speist ihn morne wol,  
erat habiturus satis ei daret."      dem er ouch morne werken sol."

For No. 53 "Von einem beschinten esel" Arundel 506 f. 29a supplies a closer parallel than anything which has hitherto been suggested.<sup>61</sup> The story is here of a widow wishing to marry her servant. He is afraid of men's talk so she sends him thrice to market with a burnt ox to show him how quickly anything ceases to excite remark. The similarity with Boner's poem is obvious but the variations are too great to warrant the acceptance of this form as the poet's direct source. And for No. 99 "Von einem toechten schuolpfaffen" there seems a parallel which has escaped notice in the current "Bauernschwank" utilised in "Meier Helmbrecht"<sup>62</sup>. All of the works mentioned as sources would be found in any well-stocked Dominican library, and it may be that the missing exempla will be found as interpolations or marginal notes in a yet undiscovered copy of any of them, the "Alphabetum Narrationum" for instance.

In characterising Boner's use of exempla, one cannot but notice the influence of the Latin collections on the composition of the work as a whole. Fables which have the same moral are grouped together, e. g. Nos. 11, 12, 13, all dealing with ingratitude. That Boner had some formal scheme in mind is clear, for he inserts No. 43 from the Avian collection in the middle of a series from the "Anonymus". His subtitles, moreover, lend themselves to re-translation into familiar rubrics — "Von ubriger Kargheit" (99) "Von ubriger gitikeit" (9) = "De Avaritia", "Von ubrigem gemache" (48) = "De Luxuria". etc. His choice denotes the preacher for he rejected such of the Latin fables as had unsuitable morals, and these which had no moral at all.

Indeed the preacher is evident on every page of the "Edelstein". It opens with the traditional invocation to God and closes with an appeal for benediction. His one aim is to teach and he is well aware of the efficacy of exempla for that purpose. (cf. Vorrede 1, 311.) He disclaims all artistic merit for himself: —

<sup>60</sup> Ward, Catalogue III. p. 435.

<sup>61</sup> For transcription of this and of previous exemplum see Appendix, pp. 121, 122.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Panzer in PBrB. 33, p. 391.

Epilogue 1. 19 "Hundert bischafft hab ich geleit  
 An diz buoch, die nicht bekleit  
 Sint mit kluogen worten  
 Einvalt an allen orten  
 Und ungezieret sint min wort."

Those of his fables founded on exempla belong to Boner's riper years<sup>63</sup> when he had acquired skill not only to choose the right material but also to present it in a form which could not fail to make a wide appeal. He has no lack of concrete images and his copious use of dialogue enlivens the dullest story. Fable No. 48 is perhaps the best example of the poet's dexterity in embroidering his theme. As a rule proper names are omitted; in No. 58 the three Roman widows are merely "drie vrouwen", Demosthenes of No. 72 is "ein wiser man", Alexander in No. 87 "ein keiser" and the Mecca of No. 74 simply "ein lant". The one exception to this procedure is the nameless "ancilla" of J. de Vitry<sup>64</sup> who appears as "Irmendrut" in Boner's liveliest tale (No. 48), a name which is probably a contribution of oral tradition. It is chiefly in the moral at the end that the poet exercises his ingenuity in expansion and throughout the work he inserts proverbs which have not always a close connection with the context.<sup>65</sup>

Like other religious poets, then, Boner suppresses details which would confuse a lay audience, while he emphasises the didactic element. If he is more successful than others, it is because he did not allow the black cowl of his Dominican habit to blinker his mind. He may have penned his fables in the dim stillness of the scriptorium or in the tranquillity of the cloisters but he brought to his task the sense of humor and the sanity of outlook of the Swiss burgher. We do not imagine him finding his material in one manuscript, but working at his "Edelstein", his "gemma gemmarum", much as a modern preacher composes his weekly sermon, with his books of reference round him, and his mind in sympathy with his audience, quick to use every possible means of attaining the pious end in view, his fancy lingering only occasionally in the pure joy of story-telling.

More cloistered in tone is a later, rhymed collection of exempla, those of Ms. Allemand 117 preserved in the Biblio-

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Schönbach loc. cit.

<sup>64</sup> Crane, 59. The story must have been long popular in Switzerland, cf. the poem of Notker Balbulus, P. Winterfeld: "Lateinische Dichter des Mittelalters", München, 1913, p. 175.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Spölgren: "Boner als Didaktiker", pp. 8—9.



thèque Nationale.<sup>66</sup> This is a collection mostly of didactic verse written in the first half of the 15th century in Alsace. "Die Teufelsbeichte" (ff. 102a—108b) which follows "Der Welt Lohn" is founded on the well-known story by Caesarius (Dist. III c. 26) of the devil who appears for confession but cannot be absolved because of his pride. The "ich han vernomen" (l. 13) of the manuscript gives no clue as to the source but certain traits of the original have been preserved, e. g. the time, "an einem inendag vor ostern" (cum tempore quadragesimali) and the devil's account of how he was induced to come to confession through envy of absolved sinners (ll. 158—166). He is however, a more garrulous penitent than the devil of the Dialogue and lengthens his confession to include much popular theology. The fall of Adam and Eve, the betrayal of Christ by Judas, the conduct of Caiphas and Pilate — all are confessed as sins. The power of the church over evil, typified by the confessor throwing his stole over the suppliant, is an addition and so is the devil's testimony to the mercy of Christ. Even allowing for defective transcription,<sup>67</sup> one must still admit that the piety of this monk's verses is more obvious than their poetry. There is a repetition of rhyme,<sup>68</sup> of single words,<sup>69</sup> and of whole passages<sup>70</sup> which stamp it as the work of a rhymster rather than of a poet.

Further on in the same manuscript (ff. 181—184) we find an "exempel von ainem Einsidel und Christus" with the sub-title "Weliche manunge got aller genemest ist". It is the story of Christ's appearing naked and wounded to a hermit who does not immediately recognize his guest. After a dialogue the Stranger vanishes and the last third of the poem is taken up with the application — injunctions to contemplate Christ's Passion. The earliest Latin form of the story is to be found in a fourteenth century manuscript of German origin now in the British Museum. (Ms. Add, 15 833 f. 95a.)<sup>71</sup> The actual narrative of the poem follows the Latin closely, e. g.

<sup>66</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Pribsch for notes from this Ms.

<sup>67</sup> The original is Middle German cf. liden : ziten (Weinhold 173) darumb : kunne, kunne : sünde. Smygen : schwygen (Weinh. 440). There are many careless omissions.

<sup>68</sup> rat/missetat l. 53. 54. 65. 67. 81. 225. 226.

<sup>69</sup> l. 174 "der tufel sprach sich a sich" l. 214 "der tufel sprach lute nein a nein".

<sup>70</sup> ll. 20—34 : ll. 157—166.

<sup>71</sup> For transcription see Appendix, p. 123. For Dutch prose version see De Vooy's, op. cit. p. 153.

"ecce cum quadam vice erraret in sua cella audivit vocem raucam de foris". "Eines tages der bruder in sime huse sas

etc.

Und sine begirde gros zu got was  
Da horte er vor sime tor ein stime  
Sitzen und zitteren, mit grosser  
grime."

In the later expansion of the dialogue between Christ and the hermit, the German poem approaches more closely the exemplum as preserved by Herolt.<sup>72</sup> The direct source probably combined these Latin variants, so that the poet's invention is reduced to the lengthy moral.

So we leave the exemplum in religious verse where we left it in prose, in Alsace. The common object of clerical exempla poets was "to point a moral" rather than "to adorn a tale". They were preachers first, but Heinrich von Melk and perhaps Ulrich Boner were also incidentally poets.

## 2) Secular Verse.

In secular verse the domain proper of the exemplum is the short narrative which became popular as the epic lost its attraction. But even in the history of epic verse, the sermon-story plays its part. Wide as the cleft was between the mediaeval romance and the exemplum, it is nevertheless bridged in the works of Hartmann von Aue. He of all German epic poets was certainly the most likely to find inspiration in a species of literature so alien in spirit to the romances of chivalry and so circumscribed in form. In addition to his monastic training, he seems to have had a certain temperamental leaning towards asceticism.<sup>73</sup> Scholars had arrived at the conclusion that the source of "der arme Heinrich" must have been a short Latin story but they suggested a notice in a contemporary chronicle.<sup>74</sup> Now, however, Klapper's<sup>75</sup> researches in Breslau manuscripts have revealed an exemplum containing the main motives of the poem.<sup>76</sup> It is found in two slightly different forms and must

<sup>72</sup> Sermo XCVI. For transcription, see Appendix, p. 123.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Schönbach: "Hartmann v. Aue", Graz, 1894, p. 469 et. seq.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid. p. 140 and F. Piquet *Étude sur H. v. A.*, Paris, 1898, p. 292.

<sup>75</sup> Long before Klapper's discovery, R. Priebsch insisted in his lectures on a exemplum as source, conjecturing that the lines "Es las ditz selbe maere wie ein herre waere", etc. reflected clearly the beginning of an exemplum.

<sup>76</sup> *Exempla aus mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, Breslau 1914. *Die Legende vom Armen Heinrich*, Program, Breslau, 1914. For this exemplum see Appendix, pp. 115—117.

have belonged to a 12th century Cistercian collection arranged to illustrate the scripture lessons for the succeeding Sundays of the year. This particular story belonged to the lesson for the Third Sunday after Epiphany which deals with the healing of a leper by Christ.

The poet has added but little to the actual incident. His skill in epic narrative, his familiarity with literature, ecclesiastical and secular, enabled him to fill in outlines and provide a background. He has added, for instance, Heinrich's long quest for healing ending at Salerno, then at the height of its fame. And the whole pastoral idyll of the hero's retreat is the poet's invention. Having attached the story to his patron's family, he naturally suppresses the grasping relatives of the Latin narrative, a suppression which deprives him of any means of explaining the beggared nobleman's position at the end of the story. The characters, too, have undergone a process of idealisation. The nobleman of the Latin story is resigned to his fate which he regards as a chastisement, but he is almost brutal in his readiness to accept the first chance of delivery. The poet's hero, on the other hand, instead of being compared to Job, is contrasted with him, and he is too chivalrous to profit by a sacrifice on his behalf without some protest. So the "kleine gemahel" is no longer a simple peasant girl, actuated by gratitude for very material benefits received. She has the indifference of a virgin saint towards earthly happiness and the determination of a martyr to fulfil her calling.<sup>77</sup> There is also a change in the central conception of the story, salvation through sacrifice. In the exemplum the remedy for the hero's complaint is "sanguine humano casto"<sup>78</sup> and a virgin offers herself. In Hartmann's poem, this dénouement projects itself forward, and becomes incorporated in the original conditions of the cure:

l. 224 "ir muesent haben eine maget  
diu vollen erbaere  
und ouch des willen waere  
das si den tot durch iuch lite".

Such a re-modelling of the facts does not help the psychological inconsistency of the end of the poem,<sup>79</sup> but Hartmann does achieve thereby a certain logic of action — the logic of the fairy tale where restricted

<sup>77</sup> The lives of Virgin Martyrs were Hartmann's model. A similarity between his model and the characters of a story in "die Heilige Regel" has already been noticed (above p. 23).

<sup>78</sup> "casto" occurs only in A which would therefore be nearer direct source than B. if we accept reading "erbaere".

<sup>79</sup> The addition of the Heidelberg Ms. of the poem is more logical than Hartmann's marriage bells.

conditions are proclaimed and candidates come forward because of their conscious ability to fulfil them.

There are further contradictions in the poem, the seventeen years of the leper's wanderings for instance (cf. l. 1377 and l. 1351) but mediaeval poets frequently ignored details of time and space.<sup>80</sup> Such inconsistencies do not interfere with our appreciation of the epic which Hartmann has made out of the exemplum.

Klapper has been strangely misled into constructing a rhymed form of the exemplum which he supposes to be the direct source of the poem. Even if one accepted his interpretation of "diu rede" as meaning rhymed literature,<sup>81</sup> there is the fact that further on (l. 15) Hartmann deliberately uses the word "maere" which we have met frequently as a translation of "exemplum".<sup>82</sup> "Diu rede die ich geschriben vant" must refer to the sermon from which Hartmann extracted "ditz maere". As for concluding a rhymed original because of assonances in the prose form, one would have expected an exemplum specialist like Klapper to recognise that these assonances are a fairly regular feature of 12th century sermon-stories.<sup>83</sup> An exemplum did not usually make its first appearance in verse and Klapper's effort may be regarded as an ingenious but wholly unnecessary academic construction. There is nothing in Hartmann's poem to preclude the acceptance of a form very similar to Klapper's two versions as its skeleton, and there could be no more convincing proof of the importance of the exemplum in literature. For, from this little seed has grown a great tree which may not yet have reached full height.<sup>84</sup>

But not many poets have been as successful as Hartmann in reconciling conflicting ideals. The works of Rudolf v. Ems, Gottfried's disciple, are full of "der werlte widerstrît"<sup>85</sup> and none of them more so than his translation of Barlaam and Josaphat,<sup>86</sup> the epic of asceticism. Rudolf's professed object is the spiritual improvement of his readers (4,33 - 5,3 : 403,8 - 403,22). In the Prologue he tells of his source, the Latin book brought to Germany by Guido, Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Cappel (5,2) and in the Epilogue he swears to the

<sup>80</sup> E. g. "der Engel u. der Waldbruder" WSB. CXLIV where the hermit is described as being 40 miles and more from any habitation and yet finds a castle after 4 miles.

<sup>81</sup> For "rede" = "sermo" see Van der Leyen, op. cit. p. 78.

<sup>82</sup> See p. 6 above.

<sup>83</sup> See p. 9 above.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. H. Tardel "Der Arme Heinrich in der neueren Literatur", Berlin, 1905.

<sup>85</sup> Ehrismann: "Studien über R. v. E." HSB. 1919, p. 115.

<sup>86</sup> Ed. Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1843.

fidelity of his translation (403,22). The actual framework does not concern us here, but the exempla which it contains are among the most popular of mediaeval stories. In the original Latin text there are 11 non-biblical apologues, and with the exception of one (the archer and the nightingale) which he probably overlooked, Rudolf has translated all of them. In relating the various incidents, the German poet follows his model very closely and if any expansion occurs, it is in the moral application. In the famous story of the four caskets, he makes a change of order from artistic motives. In the Latin text the opening of the fair caskets is followed by a passage reserved by Rudolf to add to the application which comes after the opening of the two foul caskets. He thereby achieves continuity of narrative and contrast of moral. The same moral, written in the Latin in the first person, is thrown by Rudolf's didactic perspective into the "ir sult" of the preacher. After the fifth apologue (c 153) he inserts an application, but the most important interpolation is that following the story of "the devils who seduce men". The view of women as the tempters of men which the story embodies, was contrary to all Rudolf's social ethics and he breaks off to record the praise of the sex in terms of the "Minnesang". It is the only expression of individuality on the part of the translator beyond the emphasising of the didactic element already referred to.

To the same species of literature as "Barlaam and Josaphat" belong the various translations and adaptations of the work of Jacobus de Cessolis. The most interesting of these is the earliest, written by Heinrich von Behringen about 1300.<sup>87</sup> His editor, Paul Zimmermann, has analysed the German poet's relation to his source. Behringen has omitted some 30 of the original stories and his scholarship would not appear to have been of a very high order (cf. his misunderstanding of proper names, 1.2878 and 1.4469 where he converts the "Hanibalis" of the original into "Am-balis" and considers it the name of a place, similarly with "Isidis" 1.6528). But in the stories which he does give, the German poet amplifies considerably the data of the Latin. The story of the test of friendship for instance, which occupies 13 lines in the Latin prose form (Köpke's ed. p. 20) is expanded into 187 lines in the German poem (ll. 4934—5121). The only story in which the actual incident of the Latin has been added to, is that of the two pilgrims to the shrine of St. James, there being no counterpart in the Latin for the lines 8112—8127.<sup>88</sup> Otherwise, Behringer's amplifications are solely due to his love of telling a story. One example may suffice. Jacobus (p. 20) gives the bare facts of

<sup>87</sup> Stuttgart. Lit. Verein, Bd. 166.

<sup>88</sup> The facts of this passage are related in most Latin versions of the story.

the story of the two merchants of Egypt and Bagdad — how the former gave up his betrothed and her dowry to his friend, who in turn saved the Egyptian from death. Heinrich is interested in every personage; thus he pays homage to the bride who is merely mentioned in the Latin text:

1. 5170 "diu maget was junc schoen unde klar  
niht wandels an ir umb ein har  
kein ouge kund erkennen  
wolt man iht schoeners nennen  
So muest man witen zirkel han."

The Bagdad merchant's plight when stricken with love of her and his struggle between duty and desire are diagnosed with the sympathy of experience.<sup>89</sup> The device used by the Egyptian to discover the cause of his friend's complaint — a kind of review of all the fair maidens of the town — is Behringer's invention. It satisfied his fastidious sense of honour, for it would have been unchivalrous for the merchant of Bagdad to avow his love for his host's bride, as he does in the Latin, and gives him at the same time further opportunity for showing the devastating power of "Frou Minne". So it is with each scene and incident. The German poet constantly adds details and puts speeches into the mouths of his characters, thus quickening the dead bones of the Latin. It is the translation of a man, whose knowledge of the things of this world, and whose delight therein far exceeded that of the Dominican Jacobus de Cessolis.

There is however, during the 13th and 14th centuries a more independent type of didactic poem in which exempla are to be found. They are not wholly absent from Thomasin v. Zirklaere's "Der wälsche Gast",<sup>90</sup> but the narrative element is much more considerable in the later work, "Der Renner"<sup>91</sup> by Hugo v. Trimberg. Ehrismann<sup>92</sup> has showed that the schoolmaster of Teuerstädt had a definite conception of his poem at the outset. It is a "Buszpredigt" falling into two parts, the first of which deals with the seven deadly sins and the second with penitence, confession, old age, death and the life hereafter. This plan became blurred through the manner and protracted time of execu-

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Zimmermann: Anmerkungen p. 404.

<sup>90</sup> E. g. 1. 3577—3582 an anecdote of Alexander, 1. 6223—6235 of Constantine, 1. 6817—6840 of Demetrius (without name).

<sup>91</sup> Edited by Ehrismann, Stutt. Lit. Ver. Vols. 247, 252, 256.

<sup>92</sup> In "Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte. W. Braune zum 20. Feb. 1920 dargebracht". p. 211.

tion.<sup>93</sup> In a characteristic simile the author attests his dependence on the work of others:-

1. 15 919 "Ich han gestupfelt als ein man  
der eigen bûvelt nie gewan  
und in richer liute korn  
hinden eherte swenne si vorn  
sichelinge hintruogen..."

He gleans vast fields of literature, classical and contemporary, and garners many an edifying fable and anecdote. These he inserts somewhat at random. His postscript is a good example of the leisurely lack of method which is a feature of whole work.

"Diz ist von einem Beyer ein mer  
Daz si nieman ze lesen swere  
Wenne es suez an im selben ist.  
Ich klage daz siu vergezzen ist  
Da vorn an disem buoche".

Sometimes stories illustrating the same point follow one another; thus, in discussing drunkenness he relates two anecdotes from oral tradition (l. 10 237—10 248 and 10 249—10 290), anecdotes which like others in "der Renner" were probably calculated as much to amuse as to edify. As a rule, however, the narratives appear singly and their relation to the preceding matter is not always obvious.

Hugo has a wide range of exempla, ranging from Biblical narratives and monastic legends (e. g. l. 3917 "Als ich von Sant Benedikten las") to Eastern tales of the fabliau type (e. g. l. 12 879 a version of the well-known "Puteus" story from the Seven Sages). Some are the record of personal experience, e. g.

- l. 3833 "Ich weisz ein kloster, in dem ich han  
Einen sun" — cf. l. 7419  
or l. 3867 "Einen alten kloster priester ich sach".

Others seem to come from oral sources:

- l. 22 885 "Mir sagte ein klosterman ein mer  
Daz mac sich fuegen wol da her" —

But the majority are from the usual collections and Hugo often mentions his source —

- l. 9719 "Ein bouch heizet Dialogus  
In dem schribit sant Gregorius."

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<sup>93</sup> Begun in 1296 and finished in 1300. Hugo seems to have revised it later, adding passages from a lost work, "Der Sammler".

The sources of such exempla may be classified thus (\*indicates that the source is stated by the poet). —

From the "Dialogus" of Gregory	3914 — 3923*	(M P. L. 66 c. 136)
	9719 — 9731*	(M. P. L. 77 c. 168)
	13731—13756*	(M. P. L. 77 c. 349)
From the "Vitae Patrum"	14793—14816*	(not in Migne)
	15693—15731	(M. P. L. 73 c. 831)
	22905—22942*	(M. P. L. 73 c. 901)
From the "Disciplina Clericalis"		
of P. Alphonsus	22051—22059	(MP.L. 157 c. 704)
From "Barlaam and Josaphat"	23529—23566*	(unicorn apologue)
From the "Gesta Romanorum"	14565—14599	(Oesterley c. 11)
	24239—24309	( " c. 45)
	2555—2603	( " c. 74)
From the "Seven Sages"	12779—12841	(Puteus story)
From "Avianus"	15569—15612*	(Fables No. 22)
Contained in Etienne de Bourbon		
and similar collections	10925—10951	(Anecdotes No. 68, 401)
Contained in "Legenda Aurea" etc.	7726—7771	(L. A. c. 182 AN. under "Ecclesia"
A variant of contrary wife story	4125—4160	(Anecdotes Nos. 242—244)

There are others which are obviously exempla but for which we have found no Latin parallel, e. g.

- 10991—11015 ("Ein war mere" — of distraction during prayer)
- 11287—11312 ("Ein mere von einem luoderer")
- 16967—16993 ("Ein gleichnisse" — of sinner who dies in monk's cowl)
- 23841—23875 ("Ein mere" — of a knight who becomes a bell-ringer in a monastery).

Hugo exercises a certain freedom in reproducing these stories. The order of events is not always that of the original. His abundant use of dialogue makes the exempla sprightly interludes in his lengthy poem. "Der Renner" is a good instance of the use of illustrative narrative in secular verse at a time when the fabliau was beginning to make inroads on the domain of the exemplum.

In the 15th century we find Hans Vintler the Tyrolese poet following the lead of Rudolf v. Ems in his translations of the popular Italian



collection "Fiori di Virtù". "Die Pluemen der Tugend"<sup>94</sup> is merely a collection of short narratives. It is divided into sections, "von dem neid", "von der freude", etc. and in each section almost, Vintler has added tales. Valerius Maximus is the source of 25 of these additions. Others come from stock sources —

- l. 7996 "Von dem schreibt also Gregorius  
In seinem pueche dialogus."

Others again are evidently the record of oral tradition, e. g. —

- l. 3246 "also hör ich von ihm sagen",  
l. 4194 "Von der sieben fraidichait muess ich sagen  
Daz da geschehen ist in kurzen tagen."

In the actual translation, Vintler follows the original very closely. Sometimes, indeed, he merely transcribes without translating —

- l. 638 "Doch zwischen hochfahrt und vana gloria"<sup>95</sup>  
Ist ain gross differencia."

Vintler seems to have gained confidence as he wrote, for the latter part of his translation is not so slavish as the first. He scatters popular proverbs throughout<sup>96</sup> and interpolates polemics against the vices of all classes. Like "Barlaam und Josaphat", "Die Pluemen der Tugend" is a translation and not a creation.

Such then is the rôle of the exemplum in secular epic verse. Of the poets studied, Hartmann v. Aue stands alone in that he makes a single exemplum the subject of a poem, although "Der arme Heinrich" can scarcely be said to have the breadth of mediaeval epic. The others have either translated collections of exempla, or, like Hugo v. Trimberg, they have interwoven sermon-stories into long didactic treatises just as preachers did in their sermons.

As already stated, the era of the exemplum in vernacular literature begins when the epic has practically ceased to exist. The former is essentially bourgeois, while the latter is always more or less aristocratic. In the mass of short narrative (mostly didactic) poetry which floods the 13th and 14th centuries, the exemplum comes to its own. The first real "Bîspel Dichter" in German literature is "Der Stricker".<sup>97</sup> He is the representative of a large school, almost all anonymous, of didactic

<sup>94</sup> Ed. I. v. Zingerle, Innsbruck, 1874. See also editor's "Beiträge zur älteren Tiroler Literatur" II (W. I. B. Bd. 66).

<sup>95</sup> "E da superba a vana gloria si e grande differenza". See Zingerle, op. cit. p. 317.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid p. 305.

<sup>97</sup> He was writing between 1225—1250 in a dialect, which, according to Zwierzina is "südfränkisch" (ZfdA. 45. p. 59).

poets, who often found their subject-matter in the stories of everyday life with which preachers illustrated their sermons. They thus provided a welcome change from the lyric effusions of the Minnesingers who had worn their theme bare, and from the lengthy epic. "Der Stricker" seems to have had a large repertory of exempla. In his long satire, "Der Pfaffe Amis" he makes use of two episodes (Nos. 4 and 8), which have their prototypes in the sermons of J. de Vitry.<sup>98</sup> The variants point to the conclusion that it was no manuscript of the sermons that was the poet's source, but the memory of the spoken word. And so it is with his other poems. "Der Richter und der Teufel"<sup>99</sup> is a typical example of his procedure. None of the extant Latin versions contain all the details of the poem, although the skeleton is given by Caesarius.

Certain motives of the poem not present in Caesarius, e. g. the singling out of an old woman to pronounce the curse, occur in a later form in Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 15833 f. 156b, a manuscript which formerly belonged to the monastery of Waldhausen in Austria. That particular motive is also found in Chaucer's version, a coincidence which would suggest a common written original used by both poets, and combining the details of Caesarius with those of the later form.<sup>100</sup> Both vernacular poets have added to the picturesqueness of the story; both, for instance, describe the outward appearance of the devil fully, and both elaborate the conversation between him and his victim. "Der Stricker" adds the incident of the unruly ox, which, along with the pig and the fractious child, is condemned in haste to the devil.

The same uncertainty of source arises in the case of other exempla which he has rhymed.

His version of the vision of Arsenius<sup>101</sup> differs considerably from any extant Latin form. In "Der ernsthafte König"<sup>102</sup> he gives an independent rendering of a popular story which is generally connected with the Trump of Doom episode from "Barlaam and Josaphat". The fact that "der Stricker" chooses themes common to all mediaeval collections of exempla, and that he gives in no case, a close reproduction of any known Latin form, points either to a consistent liberty of

<sup>98</sup> Crane Nos. 254 and 264. See Frenken op. cit. p. 83.

<sup>99</sup> V. der Hagen, GA. LXIX. Lassberg's Liedersaal 111, 253—266. cf. *Fragmente der Libri VIII*, ed. Meister p. 90. This is identical with the "promptuarium" version given by Wright as the source of Chaucer's tales, p. 105.

<sup>100</sup> For transcription see Appendix p. 124. Nearer the Latin than *Der Stricker's* version in the poem in Schmeller "Die Mundarten Bayerns", p. 447.

<sup>101</sup> DTdMas, XVII. cf. Pfeiffer, *Germania III*, p. 409, where source is given as LA c. 178. It is nearer the original in "Vitae Patrum" MPL 73c 763.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. p. 63.

treatment or to oral sources. In any case, the result is no mere translation, and the proportion between the narrative and the didactic element is better preserved than in the works of similar poets.

In the second half of the 13th century, we have an instance of a more slavish versification of an exemplum in Heinzelin v. Konstanz's poem "Von den zwein Johannsen",<sup>103</sup> but the best illustration of the extent to which the exemplum permeated vernacular literature at this time is the Heidelberg Ms, cod. pal. germ. 341, already mentioned.<sup>104</sup> It contains several of der Stricker's poems and others of the same school. A typical poem is "Der Heller der armen Frau",<sup>105</sup> which has its source in Ms. Brit. Mus. Arundel 506.<sup>106</sup> Parallels show the close relationship —

"Noluit quod aliquis elemosinam  
suam ad illam (i. e. ecclesiam)  
daret sed ipse solus vellet facere  
expensas et vellet solus meritum  
habere a domino et retributionem.

Tandem ecclesia consumpta  
fecit rex depingi in eadem  
ecclesia et scripsit sic quod ipse  
eandem construxisset et nullus  
alter

Quod rex videns commotus  
maxime fecit delere scripturam  
illam et ipse iterato depingit.

Tunc fecit inquiri si aliquis  
dicta esset ibi nomine sophia  
et inventa fuit."

The king's material reward to the widow is not contained in the Latin. It is a concession to a more popular sense of justice than that

1. 27 "der kunic tiwer das verbot  
bi sinen hulden uf den tot  
daz iemen daran solte geben  
reht als lieb im were daz  
leben

daz lon wolt er eine han,

1. 33 Do daz munster wart bereit  
mit harte grozer richeit  
der kunic hiez dar an er-  
graben

mit guldinen buchstaben  
daz er were sin eines rat  
und nieman dar an gegeben  
hat.

1. 44 Dem kunege sere daz ver-  
smaht

er hiez den namen tiljen sider  
unde sinen namen schriben  
wider.

1. 57 Er hiez vragē der mere  
Wer die vrowe were  
die vrowe wart funden do."

<sup>103</sup> v. der Hagen, *Minnesinger* III p. 408. Founded on Caesarius, see R. Köhler: "Kleine Schriften", 11, p. 108.

<sup>104</sup> Above p. 43.

<sup>105</sup> DTd MAS, XVII. p. 19.

<sup>106</sup> f. 13 b. For transcription see Appendix p. 117. An earlier and more condensed version is contained in cgm. 7783 (1312) f. 27.

revealed in the exemplum. The proper name, too, does not appear in the German poem, a suppression quite in accordance with the general rule.

Other rhymed exempla of the Heidelberg Ms. are "Der milde König",<sup>107</sup> "der arme Lazarus",<sup>108</sup> "der wahre Freund",<sup>109</sup> "die Tochter und der Hund",<sup>110</sup> "die feile Frau".<sup>111</sup> Like preachers, the poets of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries repeat the same story with unimportant variations. An interesting example of this is the poem "die halbe Decke" also called "das Kozzenmaere". The story of the ungrateful son who is reproved for his harshness to his old father is the subject of six separate poems, viz.

I the version in Lassberg's *Liedersaal*, LXXVIII.

II the version in v. der Hagen's *GA*. XLVIII.

III the version printed from a Vienna manuscript by Pfannmüller (*ZfdA* 54, p. 244).

IV der Hufferaere's poem: v. der Hagen, *Nachträge*, *GA*. III, p. 79.  
V Kaufringer's poem.

VI Kolmarer *Hs.* Stuttgart *Lit. Ver.* Bd. 68, p. 386.

The first four of these poems have been investigated by Stehmann<sup>112</sup> and again by Pfannmüller.<sup>113</sup> The former accepts I, an Alemannic poem, as the oldest form but he is wrong in assuming its source to be the French poem "C'est de la houce partie". The poem was most likely written from an exemplum which was among the most popular in the repertory of the mediaeval preacher and the form given by Caesarius<sup>114</sup> is nearer I than is the French poem. It may be that the French versions have influenced the later forms of the poem, the rôle of the daughter-in-law, for instance, is merely hinted at in the Latin but the repentance of the ungrateful son, which Stehmann<sup>115</sup>

<sup>107</sup> DTdMas XVII, p. 57. From Avian's Fable XXII. For Latin parallels see Crane's notes to J. de Vitry No. 196.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid p. 45.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid p. 59, cf. Crane, No. 120 and Wright's Latin Stories, No. 198.

<sup>110</sup> DTdMas IV, (Melker Hs.) pp. 1-3. The nearest Latin parallel is in the *Gesta Romanorum*, Oesterley c. 27.

<sup>111</sup> Lassberg Lds. CXLIII. First in M. P. L. 73c661 cf. Crane, 257.

<sup>112</sup> Palästra, Bd. 62. p. 173.

<sup>113</sup> *ZfdA*. 54, p. 239.

<sup>114</sup> Fragmente, p. 122. See Appendix 121.

<sup>115</sup> Loc. cit. p. 118.

regards as an original motive of the story does not appear in Caesarius any more than it does in I.<sup>116</sup>

The difficulty of drawing a hard and fast line between religious and secular utilisers of exempla becomes apparent in the case of a poem like "Der Engel und der Waldbruder".<sup>117</sup> Nothing in the poem betrays the status of the author, for the pious prayer at the end is a formula of mediaeval verse. The history of this famous oriental legend, its gradual adaptation to a western public, have been discussed more than once,<sup>118</sup> and Schönbach has given an estimate of the German poet's contribution. The poem, according to him, was written in the early fourteenth century by a man whose home was in eastern Swabia. The narrative is uninterrupted by the didactic reflexions which we associate with the work of clerics. The distinctive feature of the German version is the fact that the whole vision is the result of the importunate ascetic's arrogant desire to have a glimpse of the person of Christ. The events which follow are treated as a chastisement, and not as in most forms, as a revelation of God's justice. It is also the only version in which the hermit has a name (Heinrich).

Towards the end of the century the same story is told by "der Kaufringer",<sup>119</sup> a poet who sometimes combines exempla motives with others of purely secular origin. Instances of exempla pure and simple are "der Einsiedler und der Engel" (I) and "Der Jude" (II). In No. XVII he has utilised a story which occurs in 14th century mystical writings,<sup>120</sup> while elsewhere we find echoes of the pulpit in somewhat strange surroundings, e. g. in No. XIII where he uses the motive of the teeth which the unfaithful wife extracts from her husband as a proof of her devotion to her lover.<sup>121</sup> With regard to his sources, the poet is not explicit. He makes use of the usual formula "ich han das wol vernomen" (IV, 26 cf, I, 10) which might refer either to a written or to an oral original.<sup>122</sup> In method he seems to be a direct descendant of "der

<sup>116</sup> In the case of another story which has been twice treated in verse "Ritter triuwe" (GA. I, 6) and "der Jungherr u. der treue Heinrich" (GA. III, 64) the French poem of Duke Herpin of Bruges is probably the original (see v. d. Hagen I, XC VII). The essentials are contained in an exemplum interpolated in a Bruges Ms (Brit. Mus. Roy 15 Dv f. 303) of the "Alphabetum Narrationum".

<sup>117</sup> Schönbach, WSB. Bd. 143.

<sup>118</sup> E. g. Gaston Paris, "La poesie du moyen âge", Paris, 1885, pp. 151—187.

<sup>119</sup> Ed. K. Euling. Stutt. Lit. Ver. Bd. 182. For analysis and appreciation see Germ. Abh. XVIII.

<sup>120</sup> See De Vooy's, op. cit. p. 340—343, and Bartsch, 'Germania, XVIII, p. 197.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. W. Map. "De nugis curialium", c. 3 and J de Vitry, Crane No. 248.

<sup>122</sup> Schönbach loc. cit. p. 61 demonstrates his acquaintance with "Der Engel und der Waldbruder".

Stricker", a man of the people, with no great respect for a clergy which had lost its prestige, and writing for an audience desiring homely entertainment as well as edification.

To this period also belong various isolated and anonymous rhymed exempla. There is for instance, the popular story of the nobleman who succeeded in doing penance in his chapel for one night, in spite of the wiles of the devil.<sup>123</sup> The oldest extant Latin form is that of Etienne de Bourbon,<sup>124</sup> but it is impossible to determine the German poet's direct source, nor is there anything which betrays his status.

There are other poems in which exempla have been interwoven with motives of secular origin as in "Wye der Molner in das Hymmel- rich quam",<sup>125</sup> the first part of which is the old story of the usurer carried to the gallows on an ass's back,<sup>126</sup> or in "der Schlegel".<sup>127</sup> There are further echoes of the pulpit in many a "Schwankdichtung". One of the last names in our period to which we can attach exempla is Michael Behaim. His chief source seems to have been the "Gesta Romanorum", although one cannot say whether he used a manuscript or merely wrote from hearsay.<sup>128</sup> The titles of his poems reveal their nature — "Ein exempel, wie ein mensch wart gejagt von ainem ainhorn", "Ein peyspiel von ein kunig der hett dry sun", "Von ainer äbtissin ein peyspiel", "Frau Welt, ein peyspiel von ainem weib was vorn schön und hinden scheusslich".

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the secularisation of exempla becomes more marked. One of the most famous examples is "Bruder Rausch".<sup>129</sup> The Latin form of the original sermon-story has not yet been brought to light, but there is every reason to believe that Exempel No. 35 of "Die heilige Regel" is a fairly close translation of that original. Preachers set the ball a-rolling, and the simple Latin tale accumulated motives from local folk-lore (e. g. the change of name). The coming of the devil and his reception by the prior, his service as cook, his theft and his detection, all are in the original story.

<sup>123</sup> Keller, Stuttg. Lit. Ver. Bd. 35, p. 70.

<sup>124</sup> Anecdotes, p. 46. See note of Lecoy de la Marche, and Köhler, Kl. Sch. II, 213.

<sup>125</sup> Keller, p. 97.

<sup>126</sup> Crane, No. 144.

<sup>127</sup> GA. II, p. 407. See Ms. Brit. Mus. Roy. 7D1, f.84 b and Herolt "Promptuarium" No. 144.

<sup>128</sup> J. Bolte in "Prager deutsche Studien" Heft 8 (1908), p. 461 etc.

<sup>129</sup> Euphorien 4, 757. R. Pribsch: "Prager deutsche Studien", Heft 8, p. 423 etc. and in "Zwickauer Faksimiledrucke" No. 28 (1919).

but they have been developed and the whole setting has been changed. The stages of the change and the reasons for it have been discussed and also the remarkable popularity of the story in Scandinavia, Holland and England.

Another link between fabliau and exemplum is the middle Low German poem "De eo qui duas volebat uxores" printed by R. Priebisch from a XVIth century Brussels manuscript.<sup>130</sup> The anecdote goes back to Jacques de Vitry,<sup>131</sup> although both the French fabliau and the German poem are nearer the form given by Adolphus of Vienna.<sup>132</sup> It is impossible to state whether the German rhymster had a French or a Latin original. The poem is addressed to "Ghy jonge gesellen" and the narrative is enlivened by a dialogue conducted with typical Low German directness —

"vader ich enkan my soe nyet gefoegen  
ick wilder twee hebben, dat is dat eynde".

"soe(n) ghy hebter genoech aan eyne,  
laet v genoegen, dat is myn raet".

"vader all weert my noch so quaet,  
ich solder hebben twee, wilt got!"

"soen, dats gesproken als eyn sott! etc.

As in the case of "Bruder Rausch", the edifying sermon-story becomes an amusing farce. Together, they form a significant finger-post on the way of the exemplum at the close of the Middle Ages.

#### c) Der Welt Lohn.<sup>133</sup>

"Wie ungetruwe die Welt si und wie falschlich sin losset, daz wil ich üch sagen mit einem kurezen merlin".<sup>134</sup> So spoke an Alsatian preacher in the 14th century but similar utterances must have come from the German pulpit since the days of Honorius. The underlying dualism of outlook is often claimed to be the most satisfactory formula of the mediaeval mind. It is certainly significant that the exemplum which had most attraction for Middle High German poets is one which represents this dualism in a concrete form. Already in the pages of the "Vitae Patrum"<sup>135</sup> a story may be found of a hermit tempted by

<sup>130</sup> ZidPh. 39, p. 156.

<sup>131</sup> In "Sammlung Mittellat. Texte" No. 9 p. 43.

<sup>132</sup> In J. Ulrich: "Proben der lateinischen Novellistik des Mittelalters", Leipzig, 1906, p. 13—14. For fabliau see Bédier, p. 429.

<sup>133</sup> See article of R. Priebisch in Mod. Lang. Review, vol. 13, p. 465 on which this section is based.

<sup>134</sup> Birlinger, Alemannia II, p. 198.

<sup>135</sup> MPL. 73, c. 879 repeated in Honorius Spec. Eccles. MPL. 172, c. 1085 see also PG. 87 c. 2868.

the world in the form of an Ethiopian woman, and by the thirteenth century the hero has become a layman — a knight overfond of lordly pursuits to whom Frau Welt appears as a woman fair in front but foul behind. The earliest extant exemplum version<sup>136</sup> of the story dates from about the middle of the 13th century, but it must have been common property at the time Walther v. der Vogelweide was writing his "Abschied von der Welt". He certainly did not invent the allegory behind the lines —<sup>137</sup>

"Do ich dich gesach reht under ougen  
do was din schouwen wunderlich al sunder lougen  
doch was der schanden also vil  
do ich din hinden wart gewar  
daz ich dich iemer schelten wil".

The situation is exactly that of the exemplum<sup>138</sup> in Ms. Arundel 406 and the delicacy of the poet's allusion is evidence that he had in mind a scene which was familiar to his audience. It was a symbol which would appeal to Walther at this time (c. 1225). However enviable the lot of the vagabond troubadour may appear to the romantic modern mind, life was for most of them sufficiently unstable and hazardous to keep alive the sense of the transiency of all things earthly. Bertrand de Born was not the only singer whose epitaph might run: "E visquet longamen el segle e puous rendet si a l'orde de Cistel".<sup>139</sup> How Walther's last years were spent will probably never be known. He had loved life as dearly as most but in this poem he recognizes that it cannot profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul. He demands his reckoning from his hostess, Frau Welt, for he would close his account with her husband, the Devil ere he sets out on the last great adventure. It is the final act in the transference of his homage from "Frau Minne" to "Charitas", a mistress free from feminine caprice and on whose protection he could rely here and hereafter.

Walther's lines are no more than an allusion, a mere echo of the pulpit, but we have the exemplum itself in Konrad v. Würzburg's poem, "Der werlt lôn". The poet here attaches the story to a particular knight (a procedure which, as we have seen, was common with many

<sup>136</sup> See Appendix p. 122 form A.

<sup>137</sup> L. 100, 24. Cf. Lachmann's Note on the passage.

<sup>138</sup> "Que cum at eum convertisset, miles vidit eam plenam vermibus putredine etc.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Wechssler: "Kulturproblem des Minnesangs", Halle, 1909, p. 415 et seq.



users of exempla), Herr Wirnt von Gravenberc, himself a poet. The story is directly addressed to worldlings as a warning:

“Ir werlte minnaere  
Vernemet disiu maere”.<sup>140</sup>

Konrad's source would appear to have been some form combining the details of two of the Latin exempla (see appendix p. 122). The character of the hero is already given in the phrase “*totus mundo deditus (B multum dilexit saeculum et omnem intentionem ad hoc formavit ut mundo complaceret)*”, but Konrad fills in the outline by giving concrete details of Herr Wirnt's pursuits — his prowess at the chase, his skill at chess and on the viol, his success in joust and love (11. 25—45). He is most akin to Hartmann's “herre Heinrich”.<sup>141</sup> The vision is described in words very similar to the Latin —

1. 63 “dô kam gegangen dort her ein wîp nach sines herzengir zewunsche wol gebrüefet gar und also minnenclich gevar daz man nie schoener wîp gesach.	A. “quaedam domina super aestimationem humanam formosa.”
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The description is amplified by conventional phrases, e. g. the comparison to Venus (1. 74), and the ensuing dialogue is a combination of the Latin texts made more dramatic by the hero's amazement and his denial of previous homage (11. 160—190). From artistic motives, too, the revelation of the visitor's name is retarded by her description of herself and her vassals (11. 193—207). The crusade at the end is the result of attaching the story to an historical personage, for Wirnt v. Gravenberc took part in the last German crusade of 1228.<sup>142</sup> Konrad then, has preserved the narrative of the exemplum, altering it only to fit his choice of hero. He has, moreover, retained the didactic purpose (11. 251—260), without allowing the moral to interfere with the story. It has the tone of contemporary secular verse, the courtly

<sup>140</sup> Note Konrad's use of the technical equivalent for exemplum.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. 1. 6 er dahte in manige wis darzuo

wâ mite er daz begienge  
daz er den lon enphienge  
wertlicher êren  
er kunde wol gemeren  
sin lop an allen orten

AH. 1. 56 im was der rehte wunsch  
ze werltlichen eren [gegeben  
die kunde er wol gemeren  
mit aller hande reiner tugent.

1. 13. Sin leben was so vollebraht  
daz sin zem besten wart gedaht  
in allen tûschen landen

1. 36. man sprach do niemen also wol  
in allen den landen.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Rottke's edition of “der werlt lon” p. X, Footnote.

atmosphere of the Minnesang and the concrete detail of the epic. How harmoniously it blends with the whole intellectual fabric of the age may be seen from Dr. Sachse's parallels.<sup>143</sup> The truth of Konrad's final warning:

"daz ir die werlt lazet varen  
wellet ir die sele bewarn".

is most positively expressed perhaps in Hartmann v. Aue's "Kreuzlied":<sup>144</sup>

"Diu werlt mich lachet triegent an  
Und winket mir  
Nun han ich als ein tumber man  
Gefolget ir".

Much the same source as that used by Konrad v. Würzburg must have inspired the "Guotaere",<sup>145</sup> a poet of whom practically nothing is known. He seems to have been one of the most religious of the Minnesingers, and his piety is very evident in his treatment of this exemplum. His "werder ritter" is no mirror of chivalry, who, sobered by his vision of the vanity of this world, goes forth a happy warrior, to stake his soul in the great enterprise of a crusade. The moment of retrospection is here intensified and prolonged. The knight is "totsiech". It is the only circumstance which the "Guotaere" thinks worth recording about his hero — he is simply the "miles quidam" of a narrator intent on the moral of the story, and careless of the setting. The apparition of Frau Welt and the dialogue follow the Latin closely:

"Sie stuont vor im und sprach nu  
sage  
guot ritter wie ich dir behage  
du hast gedienet vlicic mir  
gar dine tage; nu bin ich komen  
und wil nach tode lonen dir."

B. "respice in me et vide  
pulchritudinem."

A. "ecce assum quam tanto  
amore hactenus dilexisti."

The last line is not in the Latin and is the motive for the realistic description of the havoc wrought by death, the leveller, which fills the second part of the poem (l. 30 et seq.). The closing stanza presents life as a pilgrimage with two goals — "vröude" and "werndez leit" and the poem ends with a prayer for guidance to "diu reine magt, diu Krist gebar". The "Guotaere" presents rather the gloomy side of the story. He has no interest in the drama of the first situation, but concentrates on the moral, on the idea of the world sending her

<sup>143</sup> K. v. W's der Welt Lohn, Berlin, 1857.

<sup>144</sup> MF,<sup>3</sup> 210, 11.

<sup>145</sup> Bartsch: Deutsche Liederdichter, 1864, p. 341.

servitors to the grave with nothing more than a shroud. Konrad's poem is no "allegro", it has the melancholy of the evening of a busy day. but the "Guotaere's" is an elegy in a churchyard, written by a man for whom the skull and cross-bones had more attraction than the tinselled glitter of the world's playthings.

Still another Minnesinger gives proof of acquaintance with some written form of this story. Frauenlob, educated in the cathedral school of Meissen and active in the neighbourhood of Mainz towards the end of the 13th century, has, in the middle of a long dispute between "die Welt und die Minne",<sup>146</sup> a reference to the situation of our exemplum —

"diu schrift sagt dinen rücken unvrut  
von natern, würmen ungedigen".

Now Mainz is the home of the Latin version A and Frauenlob's allusion shows that the story was as familiar to him and to his public as an illustration, say, from the Bible.

There is a similar allusion in a fourteenth century Middle Frankish didactic poem "Das himmelische Gastmahl"<sup>147</sup> l. 183 "si suret hinden und süzet for", and it is the subject of a still unpublished poem<sup>148</sup> in the Paris Ms. Allemand 117 ff. 88b—102a. This is a lengthy poem running into some 668 lines and owing much to Konrad v. Würzburg. The poet, very probably a cleric, tells the story in the first person. He gives no preliminary details of setting but plunges right into the middle of things with a description of the main figure — "Es kam ein frowe mynneclich". She is not, as in the other versions, a ghost of the eery dusk, but a phantom of the portentous hour of dawn —

"Das war ein(s) morgens gegen dem tag  
Vor mettinzit".

Her figure and costume are accurately described. The portait is that of the fair heroine of mediaeval romance:

"Ir hor was gel und siden var  
Noch wunsche wol gezieret gar  
Dar uff ein krone wuneklich  
Guldin und von gesteine rich  
Ein sament grüne also ein gras  
Der durch und durch gefüttert was  
Mit hermel beltz gar meisterlich  
Den trûg die frowe mynneclich".

<sup>146</sup> Ed. Ettmüller 1843 p. 241.

<sup>147</sup> DTD MAS. xv (1909), p. 71.

<sup>148</sup> I owe a copy of this poem to R. Priebisch — cf. also p. 51.

The hero's monastic mind betrays itself in his reception of his fair visitor:

“Ich rieff gar mit flisse an  
Der uns us nöten wol gehelffen kan”.

Frau Welt addresses him in terms reminiscent of Konrad's poem but thereafter our poet develops the subject on independent lines. This hero is not, as in other versions, a knight who has experienced the allurements of the service of the world: his is a cloistered mind to be tempted by visions. So Frau Welt extends before him in entrancing succession the glories of her realm. In the midst of a landscape of forest, heath and meadow, vocal with the joyous song of lark and nightingale and carpeted with all the flowers of May, he sees a company of brave knights contesting for the favour of fair ladies. While the revellers joust and dance and make merry with music and banqueting, Frau Welt turns to her companion:

“Frunt lieber wie gefalle ich dir  
Sich umbe dich, was man siht  
In myme dienste das geschilt”.

At last evening falls on the carnival:

“Der schimpf solte ein ende han —  
Also alle froide mûs zergan  
Die man noch hat uf erden  
Die mus vermischet werden  
Mit iomer und mit herzeleit”.

And with the night, the figure of Christ appears, clad in the grey garb of a palmer and accompanied by twelve knights in scarlet robes. Instantly Frau Welt is struck with terror. At his command she avows her identity:

“Ich bin die Welt geheissen  
Und kan uf bosheit reissen  
Dis volck arm unde rich”.

She casts from her the crown of gold and the gorgeous raiment and reveals all the repulsive ugliness of her body.

“Ir lip (der) was behangen  
Mit krotten und mit slangen  
Siu was sogar verwasen  
Ir fleisch die maden assen”.

Pronouncing judgment on herself and on her followers she cries:

“Wol her min dienere es ist zit  
Nement hin den lon den man nu git”.

Quick as a flash the whole fair fabric vanishes, giving place to a picture of the dreadful torments of those who were recently so gay in the service of the world. From their vain cries for mercy, the poet turns to listen to the reproaches of Christ, and to a consideration of the last Judgment. He dwells on the indifference of the world to the church and finds occasion to comment on the extravagant dress of his contemporaries and other vices. The preacher gains the upper hand towards the end, but in the actual treatment of the story one cannot deny this poet something of the realism, and not a little of the wide sweep of mediaeval artists who treated similar themes, say the creator of the great "Triumph of Death" fresco in the Campo Santo of Pisa.

His is not the final presentation. From the heading of one of his "Beispiele",<sup>149</sup> we judge that Michael Behaim utilized the same story and it adorns more than one cathedral.<sup>150</sup> So it is that an exemplum, which symbolises so concretely the point of view of a whole age, can preserve its vitality and prove an irresistible magnet to poets and sculptors as well as to preachers.

In this chapter we have studied poets who inserted exempla in their works as preachers did (der Bruder Hartmann, H. v. Melk, Hugo v. Trimberg); we have found many more who wrote a whole poem round an exemplum (H. v. Aue, der Stricker, K. v. Würzburg etc.) Most have used a written source (e. g. H. v. Aue, the author of the "Passional") while others seem more indebted to oral tradition (der Stricker). Of sources which have been established here for the first time most important are those supplied for "der Vrouwen Trost", "der Heller der armen Frau", "der Kozze", Boner's fable No. 89. In adapting exempla, poets have, as a rule, used the same methods as preachers. Except where there was some reason for attributing the story to a particular hero, (as with H. v. Aue and K. v. Würzburg) proper names and other details of origin have been suppressed while the didactic and reflective element has been greatly amplified. The emphasis of the moral is indeed the most striking feature of versified exempla. As in prose, so in verse, the same exemplum has been repeated in different forms ("das Kozzemaere", "der Welt Lohn"). Sometimes, indeed, either by reason of a special appeal to popular imagination ("Bruder Rausch"<sup>151</sup>) or on account of something essentially poetic in scene and incident ("der arme Heinrich") these simple sermon-stories have survived in many a varied garb down to the present day.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. above p. 65.

<sup>150</sup> E. g. Worms, Nürnberg, S. Sebaldus.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. "Bruder Rausch", Stuttgart, 1900, by W. Hertz.

## CONCLUSION.

The most tangible result of this pursuit of the exemplum through Middle High German literature has been to establish the fact that the parish church and the monastic library were centres of literary activity which grew in importance as the brilliant courts of duke and landgrave waned. Our study is a concrete reminder of the unity of the church and the world in the Middle Ages, an evidence of that interchange of ecclesiastical and secular influence which is a distinctive feature of all mediaeval culture. The exemplum, starting from the pulpit, has proved an ever-present current of inspiration, sending tributaries into streams widely removed in source and destination. It has survived in German literature in various stages, from the bald prose of exact translation to poetic re-modellings of abiding artistic value. The agents most active in the spread of these untethered tales have undoubtedly been the monks of the Cistercian Order. A Cistercian document is the best collection of prose exempla; it was a Cistercian abbot who supplied Rudolf von Ems with his material; Cistercian in origin are "der arme Heinrich", "Bruder Felix", "der Welt Lohn", most of the "Marienlegenden" and probably also "Bruder Rausch".

Geographically, the exemplum flourishes best in prose and verse where monastic activity is at its liveliest. Alsace and Switzerland are its favourite homing-places. In point of time, it is most prolific in the 13th and 14th centuries, when the world of the knight had given place to that of the burgher.

The way of the exemplum has not led past many of the masterpieces of German literature. Compared with the great epics, rhymed exempla are circumscribed and domestic in their appeal. But they are nevertheless part of the detail of the edifice of mediaeval letters, as absorbing as storied windows or carved capitals. They do not drop out of the fabric of literary history at the end of the Middle Ages. Hans Sachs and his followers use exempla repeatedly and many a poetaster of the Romantic period finds pleasure in reviving the old stories.<sup>152</sup> As a literary form the sermon-story reached its apotheosis in the "Sieben Legenden" of Gottfried Keller.

<sup>152</sup> E. g. Langbein, Fr. Kind, etc.



**PART II.**  
**THE LEGEND OF THE VIRGIN AS KNIGHT.**



## CHAPTER I. LATIN VERSIONS.

Walter Map. "De Nugis Curialium". Dist. I c. XX = M.

J. v. Voragine. "Legenda Aurea". c. 131, 2. = LA.

C. v. Heisterbach. "Dialogus Miraculorum". Dist. VII c. 37 = C.

G. de Zamora. "Tractat". IV, 8 = G.

"Speculum Laicorum". = SL.

"Alphabetum Narrationum". MS. Harley

268 f 144 = AN.

MS. Additional 32, 248 f. 3 = Add<sup>1</sup>.

J. Beka. "Chronicon Auctius" = B.

De Reiffenberg. "Annuaire de la Bibliothèque Royale de  
Belgique". = De R.

MS. Additional 33, 956 f. 24a = Add<sup>2</sup>.

M. = Walter Map, "De Nugis Curialium". Dist. I. Cap. XX.

Miles quidam, Hamericus nomine, magni patrimonii, famae modicae petebat exercitium militare quod torneamentum dicunt. Cumque per nemus altum iter ageret, audivit ad missam matutinam a longe pulsari campanam, sociis dissuadentibus et armis relictis in comitatu, heremitas invenit. Missa celebrata, redire festinavit ad socios, sperans eos in secundo vel tertio consequi miliario; sed tota die devius sero reversus est ad locum missae. Similiter et in crastino. Die tertia conductus ab heremita socios invenit redeuntes, ipsique multa laetitia congratulantes. Miratur solito majorem sibi venerationem exhiberi: timet ironiam. Familiarem ergo socium vocat in partem quaerit quomodo causa eis in tornimento, responderit. Intulit ille: "Bene nobis et manu tua sed inimicis male, qui tamen hodie reversi sunt ad nos ut te pro tuorum operum admiratione viderent, sed ut heri recessimus ad hospitium nemo nobis de te quicquam certitudinis dicere potuit: asserunt et armigeri tui quod armis tuis a te receptis ab oculis eorum evanuisti cum equo tuo. Si vero cupis audire quod de te loquuntur in via, demissis vultibus audiamus." A transeuntibus igitur secus eos audierunt Hamerici praeconia per singulos et magnas laudes hominis per timiditatem prius infamati. Miratus ipse nullius meriti conscientiam habens et vix tandem advertit quod ei dispensaverat Domino vicarium ne gaudere socii sui possent de missa dispecta vel ipse dolere de respecta, deditque se cum omnibus quae possederat Deo domuique Templarium et auxit eos multum ut dicitur.

<sup>1</sup> Edition of M. R. James, Cambridge, 1914, pp. 29—30.

Walter Map's anecdote is an essential preliminary to the study of the legend of the Virgin as Knight — preliminary only because the Virgin herself does not appear.<sup>2</sup> Map's hero is a knight named Hamericus, who, accompanied by friends, is on his way to a tournament when he hears a chapel bell in the distance. He leaves his comrades to attend mass, but, on trying to find them again, he goes astray and returns to the chapel. Nor does he fare better the second day, and it is only when the friendly hermit comes to his aid that he finds his friends now returning from the match. They congratulate him on his great prowess in the lists. Hamericus is amazed and recognises that God has sent a substitute. Out of gratitude he dedicates himself and all that he possesses to the service of the Templars.

This legend is inserted by Map in that part of *Distinctio I* which deals with the Templars — a chapter which is curiously modern in its indictment of the sword as a means of christianising the world. He gives no indication of the source of this particular story, nor do either of the learned editors of his work.<sup>3</sup> The collection was compiled between the years 1181 and 1193,<sup>4</sup> and as Map's calling had brought him into touch with men of all nationalities and professions, he probably had the story by word of mouth from a member of the Templar Order. The very fact that the whole centres round a tournament is almost sufficient reason for locating the incident on the other side of the Channel. This French fashion was introduced into England during the anarchy of Stephen's reign but afterwards banned until Richard saw fit to re-establish it so that English knights might not be put to shame by their French brothers-in-arms. That Map is writing before the tournament became a familiar part of aristocratic life in England is evident from his very method of referring to it here, (*"exercitium... quod torneamentum dicunt"*).<sup>5</sup> The name of his hero also suggests France as the scene of the incident for it seems connected with Hamars, in the neighbourhood of Caen and one might see in Hamericus

<sup>2</sup> Throughout the book the Virgin's name only occurs once and that merely casually, though *Dist. IV. cap. VI* supplies the motives of two popular Mary-legends, viz. Mary and the Painter and The Extravagant Knight.

<sup>3</sup> The parallels referred to by Prof. James (*Introd.*) in Liebrecht's *"Zur Volkskunde"* (Heilbronn, 1878) point to the existence of many similar legends connected with particular German families or towns, legends however, which have more in common with versions later than Map's.

<sup>4</sup> James, *Introd. XXVIII*. For an account of Map's life see Introduction to Wright's edition of *"De Nugis"*.

<sup>5</sup> cf. *Dist. II, cap. XVI*. *"ludum torniamentum quod rectius tormentum dicitur"*.

a relative of the Raoul de Hamarz who appears in the contemporary "Vie de Guillaume le Maréchal"<sup>6</sup> and of the numerous scions of the same family whose names occur in documents of King John's reign.

Map's gifts as a story-teller are apparent even in this extract. He is concrete, gives his hero a name and presents him in black and white, "a man of great wealth but moderate fame". Hamericus probably belonged to the circle of Map's acquaintance and for artistic reasons the insignificance of the hero's military achievements is underlined. It makes his success in the present test all the more miraculous and adds to the dramatic interest of the lively scene between Hamericus and his returning companions. The description of the morning ride through the gloom of the forest while the chapel bell rings in the distance, shows that the story-teller had also an eye for a romantic setting.

Before leaving Map and his version, we would emphasise his importance in the filtration of mediaeval legends. Franz Bär in his dissertation, "Die Marienlegenden der Strassburger Hs. 863"<sup>7</sup> puts him in as an afterthought at the end of his incomplete survey of various Mary-legends, whereas, in this case at least, his version deserves first place as being the earliest written record of the main motives involved. His data are here summarised for reference later.

- 1) Name and character of hero.
- 2) Time and place of incident.
- 3) Duration of tournament. (3 days.)
- 4) Rôles of hermit, friend, admiring enemies and angel.
- 5) End—entry into order of Templars.

C = Caesarius of Heisterbach. *Dialogus Miraculorum*.

Dist. VII c. 38.

#### VITA WALTERI DE BIRBECH.

Igitur Walterus de Birbech villa oriundus exstitit, vir dives ac potens, et nobilis valde, consanguineus Henrici Ducis Lovaniae. Qui cum esset militiae saeculari adhuc aetate florens deditus, et in ea strenuus satis atque nominatus, Dominam nostram Sanctam Dei Genetricem semperque Virginem Mariam ab ipsa puerita coepit invocare, et ex intimo cordis affectu diligere, atque jejuniis, eleemosiniis et missarum celebrationibus honorare. Licet enim corpore deditus esset, ut dictum est, tornamentis, corde tamen totus erat in obsequio beatae Virginis. Tempore quodam cum properat ad quodam tornamentum, multos milites habens in comitatu, venissentque ad ecclesiam quandam, illos ut missam audire vellent hortabatur. Quod cum recusarent, moram tantam sibi

<sup>6</sup> Soc. des anc. textes fr. 1891. See Rom. XII, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Strassburg, 1913, pp. 102—109.

periculosam esse praetendentes, illis recedentibus ipse mansit, missam de sancta Maria sibi cantari fecit et obtulit; sicque socios insecutus est. Cui cum aliqui de tornamento occurrerent et hoc ex responsione illorum cognovisset subjunxit: Est-ne adhuc inceptum? Dicentibus illis etiam respondit, Quis fortius ibi fecit. Dominus Walterus, inquit, de Birbech ipse in ore omnium est, omnibus praefertur et ab omnibus laudatur. Aliis vero ocurrentibus, et similia dicentibus, stupens admirabatur, quidnam hoc portenderet. Actum est ineffabili pietate beatae Virginis, ut militem devotum in obsequio suo tardantem interim in tornamento honoraret, ejusque absentiam mirabili quadam virtute suppleret. Veniens tamen ad locum, armavit se et intravit sed nihil magni illic egit. Ludo vero expleto quidam ex militibus hospitium ejus intraverunt, et ut secum mitius agere dignaretur deprecabantur. Quibus cum diceret: Quae est causa petitionis vestrae? responderunt, Hodie cepisti nos et rogamus ut bene nos tractetis. Waltero negante ac dicente: Ego non vos cepi: responderunt, In rei veritate nos hodie dextra vobis dedimus, nos signa vestra militaria ibi vidimus, nos vocem vestram ibi audivimus. Et cognovit statim hoc actum fuisse gratia beatae Virginis quam honoraverat in missae."

With Caesarius of Heisterbach we come to the commonly recognised source of our legend. Here the principal figure is certainly no myth, but an historical personage with a family tree of his own<sup>8</sup> and familiar to Caesarius through years of intimacy. He is referred to repeatedly throughout the Dialogue<sup>9</sup> as the authority for various miracles and from one reference it is clear that he had fought in the Holy Land. His name also occurs in the Chronicle of Vilers.<sup>10</sup> In the present passage, Caesarius, with all the professional raconteur's love of detail, gives Walter's genealogy ("consanguineus Henrici Ducis Lovaniae"). Unlike Hamericus, Walter had a brilliant reputation: Caesarius would naturally glorify his friend, but he gets his contrast too, a Pauline one, of outward devotion to the pleasures of the tournament while the inner man, from his youth up, had served the Virgin, "honouring her with fastings, almsgivings and masses". The German monk has not the Anglo-Norman's eye for a poetic setting. It is the man himself in whom Caesarius is interested and so he omits details of time and place. There is no bell to indicate that a service is about to begin: it is Walter himself who asks that a mass be said in honour of Our Lady, nor is there any delay in his meeting returning spectators who, moreover, do not recognise in him the proclaimed hero of the day. He proceeds to the scene of combat and enters the lists but does not distinguish himself there. The admiring enemies of M

<sup>8</sup> Trophées de Brabant, t. II., p. 202.

<sup>9</sup> Dist. IIIc.33: IV, 54; V, 6; VII, 16; 25: X, 12; also Hom. II, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> G. G. Coulton, "Mediaeval Garner", Cambridge, 1910, p. 258.

play here a more active rôle as captives who beg for mercy, and as Walter finally entered the monastery of Himmenrode, there is naturally no mention of Templars. For us the scene ends with Walter's recognition of the services of the Virgin. Caesarius breaks off in his biography to deal with the novice's most legitimate inquiry as to the orthodoxy of Mary's aiding and abetting a devotee in the pursuit of a pastime condemned by all staunch churchmen.

The most important variations from M are thus occasioned by the fact that Caesarius here attached a current legend to a different historical personage. We find him employing a similar device throughout the Dialogue; it is indeed his chief merit in the service of mythology, to have fixed various legends in a concrete, local setting, thus showing their wide-spread acceptance in his day. Not that he consciously fitted his heroes into vague myths, that work was accomplished by the mysterious agency which we call rumour.<sup>11</sup> Walter of Birbeck was evidently a figure heroic enough to stimulate popular enthusiasm and Caesarius, who was no more credulous than his contemporaries, merely plays the part of the reporter who records the stories which a man's death is often sufficient to call into life.<sup>12</sup>

The other and more important variation, the substitution of the Virgin for the "vicarius Dei" of M may be partly explained historically, for the years between M and C (roughly 1190—1220) mark a great increase in the growth of the cult of the Virgin. While Caesarius, in the seclusion of Heisterbach was writing his "*Distinctio de beata virgine Maria*", inspired artists were chiselling out an eternal chronicle of the reign of the Queen of Heaven on earth on the portals of Chartres. As a member of the Cistercian Order which regarded Mary as its founder and protector and which is credited with the introduction of her cult<sup>13</sup> into Germany, Caesarius was ready to witness to her supremacy in every field of human activity.

As a story-teller, Caesarius has merits of his own — a lively felicity in dialogue and an eye for the right kind of detail. The scene between Walter and the returning spectators is as vivid as a street scene of the present day. The whole tournament is enacted for us in the last

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Preface to Dialogue already quoted, p. 11.

<sup>12</sup> In ASS. the day of Walter's death is given as Jan. 22nd, 1222 but the editor, on the evidence of Caesarius, shows that it must have been earlier. We note that one of the stories of Walter, that of water turning into wine for the over-ascetic monk, has also attached itself to Thomas of Canterbury. (Thomas Cantimpratensis, *De Apibus Lib. II, CXXIX.*)

<sup>13</sup> Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands IV*, p. 337.

words of the captives. "In very truth we have held out our right hand to you this day; we have seen your armorial bearings; we have heard your voice at the tournament".

There is little possibility that Caesarius had read a work which was so little known as Map's "De Nugis". Rather have both derived the story from a current oral version, each moulding it as we have seen, according to his circumstances and purpose. We summarise here the facts of Caesarius which are important for the subsequent development of the story: —

- 1) The person and character of the hero,
- 2) A mass said in honour of the Virgin at the hero's request,
- 3) The duration of time — here part of a day,
- 4) The fact that the hero actually takes part in the tournament,
- 5) The episode of the captives,
- 6) No immediate effect of the miracle.

The version of the ASS. (Jan. 22nd) is a faithful transcription of C only that the editor connects Walter with a village of French Brabant whereas C's Birbeck was in the neighbourhood of Aerschot. Caesarius was translated into German during the 15th century by Hartliep<sup>14</sup> and again in the 19th by Kauffmann.<sup>15</sup> This version has also been translated into modern English by Mr. Coulton.<sup>16</sup>

LA = *Legenda Aurea* ed. Graesse. cap. CXXXI, 2.

Miles quidam valde strenuus et beatae Mariae valde devotus ad torneamentum vadens quodam primo monasterium ad honorem beatae Mariae constructum in itinere repertum missam auditurus intravit. Cum autem missa missae succederet et ille ob honorem virginis nullam praetermittere vellet tandem monasterium exiens ad locum concitus properabat. Et ecce redeuntes occurrerent et ipsum strenuissime militasse referunt. Quod dum omnes qui aderant assererent et universi eum strenuissime militasse acclamarent necnon et quidam qui se ab eo captos dicebant, se eidem offerrent pendens vir discretus urbanam reginam urbano modo se honorasse quid acciderit manifestavit et ad monasterium rediens filio virginis de cetero militavit.

The nameless hero of LA has the characteristics of Walter of Birbeck, and here the devotion takes place in the church of a monastery dedicated to the Virgin. There is no mention as in M and C of unwilling companions and for the first time we hear of a series of masses which the knight's piety forbids him to interrupt — a perfectly reasonable addition as the saying of one mass could scarcely occupy

<sup>14</sup> Ms. Brit. Mus. Add. 6039 f. 44.

<sup>15</sup> *Annalen für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, Heft 53.

<sup>16</sup> *Mediaeval Garner*, p. 255.

the whole time of a tournament. As in *M* returning spectators hail him as victor, and as in *C* captives place themselves at his mercy. Jacopo finishes his story by the knight's open avowal of the Virgin's help and by his return to the self-same monastery where "he ever after abode in the service of our Lord, the Son of the Blessed Virgin".<sup>17</sup> This identification of the knight's refuge with the scene of his devotion is typical of the author's procedure throughout. He unifies and condenses the whole story, making the changes that are necessary. There is considerable debate as to the date of the "Legenda Aurea" but no one has placed it before the middle of the thirteenth century so that Jacopo certainly might have seen the "Dialogue" which was written before 1224. A comparison of the two versions, however, leads one to infer an intermediary as the direct source of *LA* (x) a version in which some of the details of *C* have become generalised. None of the editors of the "Legenda Aurea" have any suggestion to make as regards the origin of this particular story but Mussafia's supposition<sup>18</sup> that the more popular of Jacopo's tales were taken from unknown hagiographic collections would apply to this case.

Whatever its origin, certain stilistic points are not without interest — the omission of all direct speech, a certain liveliness of narrative ("et ecce") and the troubadour-like designation of the Virgin ("urbana regina"). The description too, of monastic life contained in the last phrase ("filio virginis de cetero militavit") is typical of the mediaeval monk, orthodox in his view of the sovereignty of the Son of the Virgin.

The following are the additions which *LA* makes to the Legend.

- 1) The succession of masses,
- 2) The entrance of the knight into an order dedicated to the Virgin, — which did indeed happen finally to Walter of Birbeck, but which is here given for the first time as the immediate result of the miracle.

The wide-spread popularity of the "Legenda Aurea" is a commonplace of mediaeval history. It is the necessary key to much of the art of the time and the following versions show how intimately it (or its source) permeated the ecclesiastical literature of the 13th and 14th centuries.

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<sup>17</sup> Caxton's translation in *The Temple Classics*, Vol. 5, p. 105.

<sup>18</sup> *Studien zu den Marienlegenden*, I, p. 67.

The version of Gil de Zamora is a word for word transcription of LA pointing to the fact that the Spanish monk had at his elbow either the Golden Legend itself or its source, while compiling his "*Liber Mariae*". The variations that do occur are mere liberties on the part of the scribe including palaeographical inaccuracies, e. g. "pendens" for "perpendens", "accidit" for "acciderit".

SL. = "*Speculum Laicorum*".

The version contained in the *Speculum Laicorum*<sup>20</sup> sufficiently resembles LA to excuse transcription here. Copious extracts from this work have been printed in Haupt u. Hoffmann's "*Altdeutsche Blätter*"<sup>21</sup> and in Wright's "*Collection of Latin Stories*",<sup>22</sup> but the only printed copy of this particular legend appears to be that in the "*Speculum Spiritualium*"<sup>23</sup> where it occurs as the last exemplum of Chap. XXX, "*Ecclesia*". The various MSS. of the British Museum<sup>24</sup> offer little variation from the sixteenth century print. The fifteenth century scribe of MS. Add. 17, 723 (f. 60b) finds it necessary to add a moral reflection — "*Quantum igitur fortificabit sacramentum eucharistiae in eternalibus presentes, postquam tamen auditio misse fortificavit absentem in transitoriis*" — an echo of the answer of Caesarius to his Novice in explanation of Mary's countenancing a forbidden practice.

The main difference between this version and LA is accounted for by the fact that they come under different headings. Jacopo's chapter "*De Nativitate Virginis*" of which this story is part is naturally a glorification of the Virgin, whereas the chapter in the "*Speculum Laicorum*"<sup>25</sup> is a summary of reasons for going to church and the benefits to be derived therefrom. It is, therefore, more didactic than its source, and the rôle of the Virgin is lessened. The scene of the miracle is not, as in LA, a church built in her name nor is it the knight's desire to honour her that prevents his interrupting the succession of masses, — only that he is forgetful of his own honour, "*suae perfectionis oblitus*". The introduction of the "*armigeri*" in the returning spectators is an interesting reminiscence of M. The glory of the miracle is also

<sup>19</sup> Bol. de la real Acad. de la Historia II, p. 113.

<sup>20</sup> Overlooked by Bär op. cit.

<sup>21</sup> Vol. II.

<sup>22</sup> Percy Soc. VIII.

<sup>23</sup> Paris, 1510, f. CLXXIX.

<sup>24</sup> Add. 11, 284 : 17, 723 : 33, 957 Roy. 7 Cxv. Harley 3232.

<sup>25</sup> For a complete study of the "*Speculum Laicorum*", see T. Welther's thesis thereon (Paris 1914).



differently attributed, indeed the whole wording of the last sentence forms a striking contrast to the conclusion of LA. In place of Jacopo's chivalric conception we have here a thoroughly monastic idea — "Miles igitur ipse curialitatem dei et virginis gloriosae necnon et auditionis servitii divini perpendens efficaciam, seculum relinquens divino se famulatu mancipavit."

AN = Alphabetum Narrationum. MS. Harley 268 f. 144.

Practically contemporaneous with the "Speculum Laicorum" is the very similar "Alphabetum Narrationum" whose author is now stated to be Arnold of Liege.<sup>26</sup> P. Toldo in the "Archiv für neuere Sprachen"<sup>27</sup> has printed and discussed several extracts from a Milan manuscript of this work, including our legend. The heading of the passage in MS Harley 268 runs — "Maria-Ex Miraculis Ejus" and the striking similarity of this version and of LA leads one to infer that this particular collection of miracles was the source of both, unless it be that Jacopo's story was written first and incorporated later in such an anonymous collection. The only interesting addition is the mention of Kirkeby as the scene of the miracle. ("Miles quidm de Kirkeby strenuus etc.") It is impossible to say whether this is the invention of Arnold or whether he found it in the original. It looks like the addition of an English scribe, there being several parishes of this name both in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and a church of Kirkebi in the diocese of Coventry is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis<sup>28</sup> as the scene of a Mary miracle.

The fifteenth century English translation of the "Alphabetum" published for the Early English Text Society by Mrs. Banks<sup>29</sup> from a manuscript in the British Museum offers a few interesting variations. The promised third volume dealing with the translator has not yet appeared but from an examination of this legend<sup>30</sup> it is obvious that he was a man who knew his business. He gives no slavish translation but adds little details: what the story loses in dignity, it gains in intimacy. His equivalent for "torneamentum" is "were" and he expands the words of the returning spectators ("eum strenuissime militasse") into "he had foghten manlelie in the batell and born him passand wele". He enlarges this whole scene and interpolates a sentence — "And thai stude still until all come aboute and ilk man with a hale voyce

<sup>26</sup> Cat. of Romances, III, pp. 423 et. seq. also article in "Library", Jan. 1905.

<sup>27</sup> Bde. 117, 118, 119.

<sup>28</sup> Gemma Ecclesiastica, D 1 c. 33, opera Vol. 2. p. 105.

<sup>29</sup> E. E. T. S. 1904.

<sup>30</sup> P. 315.

commendid and said he had foghten wurthelie —". A comparison of the last sentence also reveals certain liberties —

"Perpendens vir discretus urbanam  
reginam urbano modo se honor-  
asse quid acciderat enarravit et  
deinceps filio virginis militavit.  
hoc valet ad militem missam et  
torneamentum."

"So the man was discrete and pur-  
seyvid how our Ladie had  
rewardid him and he gaff up all  
werldie things and servid hur  
Son and hur ever after whils he  
liffid."

ADD<sup>1</sup> = MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 32,248. fol. 3.<sup>31</sup>

Milite *de* quodam scio que miraculum prodam  
Ille brabantinus fuit et probitate supinus  
De brabant natus de nobilibus generatus.  
Incepitque piam frequenter amare mariam.

- 5 Dictus Walterus ad torneamenta severus  
In populo mitis constringens tedia litis  
Militis ex more forma virtute decore.  
Ad torneamentum terror fuit ipse potentum.  
Hic properat socio Walterus cum Walewano,
- 10 Accidit ut sociis sibi pluribus associatis  
*Audiret* solito missam de pneumate sancto.  
In campo plano jocus inceptus a Walewano.  
Missa completa sonat altera laude repleta  
De domina nostra Christi genetrice Maria.
- 15 Hanc exspectavit Walterus, turba meavit  
Ad torneamentum cum multa plebe clientum.  
Quid Walterus ibi fecit hoc nequit scribi.  
Milite deforti nulli parcendo cohorti.  
Nam bellum totum per eum *fuit* undique motum.
- 20 Hos capit, hos stravit, hos liberavit, hosque fugavit.  
Histrio clamavit, brabantinus superavit.  
Omnes et vicit *quos* dextra dei *benedicit*  
Missam finivit clerus. Walterus abivit.  
Rua tornamenti vocat obvius advenienti.
- 25 Ipsius socius qui dictus erat Walewanus  
Quem sic affatur, quis perdit sive lucratur.  
Qui respondit ei, tibi laus est *danda* diei  
Nam non est vere similem te visus habere.  
Non est laudandus oliphirus sive roelandus.
- 30 Respecti *vestri* tot qui vi vicit equestri  
Sicut grex volucrem fugiens per devia nisum  
Sic praeter solitum *metuit* te turba clientum.  
Tunc sibi Walterus respondit scit bene clerus  
Nos audivisse sancte sollempnia misse

<sup>31</sup> Ward, III, p. 627.

- 35 De tam propitia Christi genetrice Maria,  
 Quae iuit hic pro me quampropter nunc sibi do me  
 Nam fuit armata pro me sua gratia grata  
 Tornamentendo sibi me et *ego monachando*  
 In vestes viles ejus fieri volo miles,
- 40 Namque deo grata domus *hermenroda* vocata  
 Est haec vicina quam sanxit gratia trina.  
 Haec domus est talis mecum vis ire sodalis,  
 Illic ire volo plus mundi *gaudia* volo  
 Mundus enim vanus, respondit ei Walewanus,
- 45 Christo servire volo tecum iugiter ire,  
 Ambo pergamus et velle tuum faciamus  
 Sic convertuntur et claustrum lege fruuntur.

The following readings are taken from a later manuscript in the Municipal Library at Metz — Metz 612 (M).

1 sub: 3 and 4 omitted in M: 6 omitted: after 8 Semper virgo pia fuit eius more maria. Ad tornamentum clamentium voce parentum. 19 finitur 21 omitted: 22 quem, benedixit.

27 data: 28 es: 30 viri: 38 ego sibi me induando 40 hec mendora 43 gaudia sumere.

Being the first version to introduce a secondary figure, ADD<sup>1</sup> is all important for the later development of the story. This manuscript belongs to the thirteenth century and is therefore the earliest script of the Paris Vatican Metz collection described by Mussafia.<sup>32</sup> Throughout it reveals a close relationship with Caesarius. Walter's genealogy is becoming obscured and he is now designated as being simply "of Brabant", but his character is essentially that of the hero of C. The secondary figure is Walewanus, who corresponds roughly to Hamericus in M. The introduction of this friend has been explained thus by Wybrandts.<sup>33</sup> In *Distinctio I* of the *Dialogue*<sup>34</sup> there is a story of a certain knight Walewanus, who laid down his arms at the altar, and rode straightway to a monastery, there to serve the Virgin for ever. Wybrandts suggests that the historian Beka (for whom see below), combined and confused this tale with that of Walter. But our metrical version, belonging to the same century as Caesarius, already combines the tales. The confusion may have arisen from the fact that, in Caesarius, Walter has a faithful servant, Arnoldus, who entered the monastery with his master (*Dist. VII, 38*). From the similarity to other local legends which the story now assumes,<sup>35</sup> one might infer that the author of ADD<sup>1</sup> was familiar with the lore of Brabant, and that he himself very probably belonged to the same neighbourhood as his hero.

<sup>32</sup> Op. cit. Vol. II p. 12 and Vol. IV.

<sup>33</sup> *Studien en bydragen*, p. 81.

<sup>34</sup> c. 37.

<sup>35</sup> E. g. in *Chronicle of Vilars*, Coulton, op. cit. p. 258.

The lively description of the prowess of Walter's substitute is an interesting addition, and for the first time we have the name of the monastery which is here located in the neighbourhood of the scene of action. Walter's last words bear the stamp of the monastic author and come somewhat strangely from the mouth of the young warrior. The poem goes on to tell of the miraculous cross which Walter received from the Virgin, an incident which Caesarius also records. The following are the most striking variations —

- 1) Hearing of mass no accident but according to habit.
- 2) Two masses mentioned.
- 3) Himmenrode mentioned as sanctuary.
- 4) Walewanus introduced, leaves Walter at his devotions but joins him in taking monastic vows.

B = Beka. *Chronica*, ed. Buchelius,<sup>30</sup> pp. 68—69.

Circa haec tempora floruerunt due milites famosi, qui Walterus et Walewanus fuerunt appellati, Walterus ortus fuit ex Brabantia, Walewanus ex Hollandia. Contigit autem ut hi dilecti consodales, ad exterar partes insimilliter irent ut de torneamento laudem inanis gloriae reportarent: qui summo mane quodam intraverunt oratorium ut devote missam audirent ante tyrocinium, factum est quod clerus missam sancti spiritus eadem horae festive caneret, qua finita, beate Marie Virginis missam sine more subjungeret, et cum Walterus beatam Mariam ardentem amaret ideoque missam ejus ad finem audiret; Walewanus autem saecularis gloriae multum cupidus finita prima missa, tyrocinium incepit in quo cum militari laude multum laboris explevit. Walterus vero percepta benedictione secundae missae, cepit arma festinanter induere et cum sua clientela decenter ad campum tendere, sed ecce quam primum idem Walterus introivet equitum, unusquisque miles lassatus petebat hospitium. Waluinus autem occurrens Walterum gratulanter amplexatus est et eundem talibus verbus allocutus est: "Clarissime miles, benedicaris a Domino qui hodierno die preconium laudis acquivisti ac innumerabiles equites ejiciendo conculasti". Walterus quidem humiliato capite primo subrisit, sciens quod ipso die torneamenti conflictum nequaquam introivit. Sed postquam idem Walterus laudem sui nominis indesinenter ab histrionibus acclamari percepit cum admiratione magna Waluino dixit: Chare sodalis, scito quod hac die tyrocinium non intravi quoniam te discedente missam gloriosae Mariae ad finem audiui quae mihi preconium laudis obtinuit atque titulum mei nominis exaltare voluit, quapropter amantissime, compar deferamus mei amore saecularem gloriam, et appetamus in similiter vitam celestam nunquam transituram: nec mora quin et hi milites intraverunt Hemmenrodense monasterium ubi sub coenobitali disciplina sacre religionis susceperunt habitum . . . Incident of cross follows.

Beka places this incident during the episcopate of Otto 34th bishop of Utrecht (1205—1225). Beka himself seems to have been a Dutch

<sup>30</sup> Utrecht 1643.

monk of the Praemonstratensian order who was writing his *Chronicle* in the forties of the fourteenth century, taking it up to 1346.<sup>37</sup> The conscientious seventeenth century editor, anxious to distinguish fact from fiction, notes that this story (*"historiam sive quod magis probo fabellam"*) occurs in various popular chronicles. He considers the story to be the invention of unlettered armour-keepers who are accustomed to embroider the origin of noble families with such eulogies (for the incident of the cross perpetuated itself in the arms of Walewanus, or rather of his successor, Walter de Persijn). The similarity of B. with the preceding ADD<sup>1</sup> is too apparent to call for comment. Perhaps the added indication of the home of Walewanus is a result of Beka's own nationality. As in ADD<sup>1</sup>, the celebration of the mass is no chance wayside episode but the adherence to a custom which was universal in the early days of chivalry.<sup>38</sup> The character of Walewanus is here more strongly marked than in ADD<sup>1</sup>, and forms a contrast to his ascetic friend, who, as in ADD<sup>1</sup>, talks as if he were already a monk. The scene between Walter and Walewanus is similar to the corresponding one in M. and an interesting little gesture is added to make Walter's incredulity more real to us — *"Waltero quidam humiliato capite primo subrisit"*, rendered in the Dutch translation, *"Wouter nyghede syn hovet ende lachede"*. The description of the tournament itself is omitted and, as in ADD<sup>1</sup>, the chronicler proceeds to give the story of the cross.

DeR. = De Reiffenberg, "Fragment d'une chronique pontificale". p. 107.<sup>39</sup>

Dominus Walterus de Bierbaco homo secundum saeculi dignitatum nobilis et de linea ducum Brabantiae ortum trahens, miles famosus fuisse fertur. Hic non sine cura gladium militarem vel militiae portans, orphanos, pupillos, viduas et personas ecclesiasticas potenter defensebat, necnon suis stipendiis contentus et subjectos non concutiens clerum et ecclesiam valde dilegebat et quamvis hastiludio torneamentis et militiae saeculari valde vacaret, tamen missam omnibus postpositis audire quotidie solebat. Cum autem quadam die venisset ad quendam vicum ubi congregati fuerunt milites et armigeri plurimi ad vacandum torneamentis summo mane, aliis dormientibus, ecclesiam intrans missam unam audire incepit. Qua finita cum jam buccinae et tympana insonuissent et hora congregandi instaret, ipse cum aliis exire ad torneamenta affectabat; sed interea secunda missa inchoata est. Sed quid tunc facere posset ignorabat. Homo interior missae interesse gaudebat, sed exterior torneamentis adesse exoptabat. Sed animo suo reluctans ad missam permansit. Cum autem sic missa

<sup>37</sup> Coster: "De Kroniek v. J. de Beka". Utrecht, 1914, p. 154 et seq.

<sup>38</sup> L. Gautier: "La Chevalerie", Paris, 1891, p. 42, Footnote.

<sup>39</sup> Annuaire de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique.

missae succederet et ipse post unam quamque mox exire ad campos cuperet vim sibi inferens usque ad nonam in templo permansit.

Dum autem haec agerentur miles quidam in armis Walteri, per omnia sibi similis in campo comparuit tamquam leo rugiens, hoc percutiens et alios dejiciens et spolia scurris et leccatoribus larga manu distribuens. Cum autem milites fastigati ludum finisset et a campo recederent vicarius domini Walteri mox disparuit et ecce datus est honor et laus ludi domini Waltero quem credebant presentem fuisse et acclamatum est more solito, Bierbachus, Bierbachus, flos militiae! Quod cum audisset dominus Walterus intellexit Dominum alium ad torneamentum loco sui misisse et ad horam conpunctus monasterium Stae. Mariae de Menroda Cysterciensis ordinis cum aliis pluribus nobilibus ingressus militiae stiritali applicatur et in monachum tonditur. Follows a fervid description of his devotion.

Nearer C is this fragment written, according to the editor, in the fourteenth century by one, Albertus. As in ADD<sup>1</sup> and B Walter here belongs to the ducal house of Brabant, and his character is that of the original Walter. As in ADD<sup>1</sup> and B the occasion of the miracle is no extraordinary display of piety but merely the regular habit of one intending to brave the perils of the tournament, but here Walter is unaccompanied. The introduction of the drums and the trumpets and the ensuing struggle on Walter's part between his desire to follow their call and his inherent reverence for religious duty are touches which testify to a sense of the dramatic. Remarkably vivid, too, is the description of the mysterious champion who enters the lists like a raging lion, dealing destruction on every side and scattering his spoils with lavishness. There are no scenes with returning spectators and no interviews with prisoners — only the animated vivats of the heralds proclaim the victor, who with several other knights, devotes himself to spiritual warfare in the monastery of Himmenrode.

There is here no mention of any special devotion to the Virgin, nor indeed does her name occur at all. The reappearance of the "vicarius" (here simply "alium") of M may be a sign of the waning of her cult but it is more probably the result of the individual outlook and circumstances of the writer. He had obviously no special purpose in view, neither the glorification of the Virgin as in C or LA nor the exposition of the advantages of church-going as in SL and AN. He combines the motives of C, ADD<sup>1</sup>, and B. and by reason of his perception of the dramatic possibilities of the legend, he approaches M more nearly than any of the intervening versions.

ADD<sup>2</sup> = MS. Brit. Mus. Additional 33, 956, f. 24a.

De fructu audiendi missam.

Refero quod audiui: nam cum in francia per quemdam comitem torneamentum statuto tempore esset indictum ac quidam nobiles milites ad dictum torneamentum exercendum parati festinarent, quodam mane in via occurrit ut quidam sacerdos ad celebrandum se pararet in ecclesia quadam et dum alter illorum ad audiendam missam remaneret, aliis sociis recedentibus et profiscentibus ad bellum, intantum tardavit is qui remanserat tam preparatione sacerdotis quam in processu missae. Et cum pervenisset ad torneamenti locum expleto jam tyrocinio, omnes universi et singuli attribuerunt sibi honorem et laudes sicut illi qui in tyrocinio strenuus inter omnes exerciterat et probatus. Et cogitans quam plene recognovit quod angelus ordinatione divina fuerat qui ejus forma assumpta sic in bello exerciterat gloriosus. Et deo et misse audite quod contigerat ascribendo dei potentiam laudibus extollebat. Ut illud iterum diceretur Mt. IX. Videntes autem turbem timuerunt et glorificaverunt deum qui talem potestatem dedit hominibus.

This anonymous version is contained in a fourteenth century collection of tales written by a scribe named Broun. Its contents justify its position at the end of a series whose first number is M. For here too, it is an angel who appears in the rôle of mysterious victor and the Virgin's name does not occur. The author heads his story, "De fructu audiendi missam" and rounds it off with a quotation from the Bible which the whole is meant to illustrate. He omits all details of time and place and all characterisation of the principal figures. The repetition of "quidam" is sufficient evidence of the use to which such a story was put, individual preachers replacing it by such embroideries as their knowledge or imagination suggested. There is no wayside scene, no mention of either friends or foes. The one addition is the localisation of the story which confirms the suggestion given by the name of Map's hero and proves that for Englishmen at least it was a French tale.

These Latin versions show the typical progress of a mediaeval story as it zig-zags between secular and sacred literature. Beginning in M as an entertaining anecdote shedding glory on an obscure member of the Templar Order, the story of the Virgin as knight has become in ADD<sup>2</sup> a mere colourless admonition to go and do likewise.

## CHAPTER II.

### VERNACULAR VERSIONS.

- C. Unger. "Mariu Saga" = OI.  
 "Du Chevalier qui ooit la messe" = OFr.  
 Pfeiffer. "Marienlegenden" IV = P.  
 "Predigtmärlein". Germania III = C<sup>1</sup>.  
 S. Brant. "Passionael" = C<sup>2</sup>.  
 Alfonso the Wise. "Cantigas" = AL.  
 Don Sancho. "Castigos" = S.  
 "Kronyk von Holland" = Kr.  
 De Vooy. "Middelnederlandse Marialegenden" = DeV.  
 Kosegarten. "Legenden" = Ko.  
 Rückert. "Maria Siegreich" = R.  
 Uhland. "Sankt Georgs Ritter" = U.  
 Simrock. "Walter von Birbach" = Si.  
 Keller. "Sieben Legenden" = Ke.

In treating the vernacular variations of this legend, one cannot but be struck with the different national characteristics which it assumes in each case. It is stretching a point to regard it as symbolic of the waking of national consciousness in Western Europe but, when it discards the international Latin garb for the more interesting dress of the vernacular tongue, we do find something like a literary reflexion of a political process. The Old-Islandic version in C. Unger's "Mariu Saga" (OI)<sup>1</sup> is a literal translation of LA without even the usual conversion of indirect into direct speech. It may be dismissed without further comment.

The old French version (OFr) on the other hand is a convincing example of the process of nationalisation. As it is the most attractive of all the forms of the story we give it in full.

"Du Chevalier qui ooit la messe et Nostre Dame estoit pour lui au Tournoiement".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Christiania 1871 p. 930.

<sup>2</sup> Printed first by Barbazon, *Fabliaux* vol. I, p. 82, and more recently by K. Bartsch, "*Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*", Pièce, 59. It has been translated into English verse by Henry Adams, "*Mont St. Michel and Chartres*", p. 268 and into prose by Mrs. Kemp-Welch, "*The Tumbler of our Lady etc.*" and by Eugene Mason "*Mediaeval Romances*" in *Everyman Series*.



- 1 Dom Jhesus com cil bel guerroie  
et come noblement tournoie  
qui volontiers au moustier tourne  
ou l'en le saint servise atourne
- 5 et celebre le saint mistere  
du doux fils de la vierge mere!  
pour ce vueil un conte retraire,  
si com le truis en exemplaire,  
d'un chevalier courtois et sage,
- 10 hardi et de grand vasselage,  
nus mieudres en chevalerie.  
moult amoit la vierge Marie.  
pour son barnage demener  
et son franc ors d'armes pener
- 15 aloit a son tournoement,  
garnis de son contenment.  
au Dieu plaisir ainsi avint  
que, quand le jour du tournoi vint,  
il se hastoit de chevauchier;
- 20 bien vousist estre el champ premier.  
d'une eglise, qui pres estoit  
öi les sains que l'aon sonoit,  
pour la sainte messe chanter.  
le chevalier, sans arrester,
- 25 s'en est alé droit a l'eglise  
pour escouter le Dieu servise.  
l'en chanta tantost hautement  
une messe devotement  
de la sainte vierge Marie;
- 30 puis ra on autre comencie.  
le chevalier bien l'escouta,  
de bon cuer la dame pria.  
et quant la messe fut fenie,  
la tierce fut recomencie
- 35 tantost en cil mëismes lieu.  
"Sire pour la sainte char Dieu",  
ce li adit son escüier,  
"heure passe de tournoier,  
Et vous que demourez ici?
- 40 venez vous en, vostre merci!  
volez vous devenir hermite  
ou papelart ou ypocrite?  
alons en a nostre mestier!"  
"amis" ce dist lichevalier,
- 45 "cil tournoie moult noblement  
qui le servise Dieu entent.  
quant les messes seront trestoutes  
dittes, s'en irons a nos routes,  
se Dieu plect (ains n'en partirai),

- 50 et quis au Dieu plesir irai  
tournoier viguerusement".  
devers l'autel sa chiere tourne  
en sainte oroisons sejourne,  
55 tant que toutes chantees furent;  
puis monterent con fere durent  
et chevauchierent vers le leu,  
ou fere devoient leur geu.  
les chevaliers ont encontrez,  
60 qui du tournoi sont retournez,  
qui du tout ent tout est feru;  
s'en avoit tout le pris ëu  
le chevalier qui reperoit  
des messes qu' öies avoit.  
65 les autres, qui s'en reperoient,  
le salüent et le conjoient,  
et distrent bien que onques mes  
nuls chevaliers ne prist tel fes  
d'armes come il ot fet ce jour:  
70 a tous jours en avroit l'onnour.  
moult en i ot qui se rendoient  
a lui prisons et li disoient:  
"nous somes vostre prisonier,  
ne nous ne pourïons nier,  
75 ne nous aiez par armes pris".  
lors ne fu pas cil esbahis,  
car il a entendu tantost  
que cel qui fu pour lui en l'ost,  
pour qui il fu en la chapelle.  
80 ses barons bonement appelle  
et leur a dit: 'or escoutez  
tuit ensamble par vos pontez;  
car ja vous dirai tel merveille.'  
c'onques n'öistes sa pareille.'  
85 lors lo conte tout mot a mot,  
con les messes escouté ot  
et qu'a cel tournoi point ne fu,  
ne ne feri de lance escu;  
mais bien pensoit que la pucelle,  
90 qu'en aroit en la chapelle,  
avoit pour lui fet ses cembiaux.  
'moult est cist tournoïemens biaux,  
ou ele a pour moi tournoïé.  
mes trop l'avroit mal employé,  
95 se pour li je ne tournoïoie;  
fox serole, se retournoie  
a la mondaine vanité.  
a Dieu promet en verité  
que ja mes ne tournoierai,

- 100 fors devant le juge vrai,  
 qui conoist le bon chevalier  
 et selonc le fet set jugier.<sup>7</sup>  
 lors prent congié piteusement,  
 maint en ploroient teurement.  
 105 d'euls se part, en une abäie  
 servi puis la vierge Marie,  
 et bien cuidons que le chemin  
 tint qui conduit a bone fin.  
 par cest exemple bien veons  
 110 que li dous Deux, en qui creons,  
 ajue et chierist et honneure  
 celui qui volentiers demeure.  
 pour öir messe, en sainte eglise,  
 et qui volentiers fet servise  
 115 a sa tresdouce mere chiere.  
 profitable en est la maniere,  
 et cil qui est courtois et sage  
 maintient volentiers bon usage:  
 qu'aprend poulain en dentëure.  
 120 veult maintenir tant come !! dure.

The latest editor of the "Chrestomathie"<sup>3</sup> places the poem in the second half of the 13th century, rather later, that is, than the works of Gautier de Coincy<sup>4</sup> with which it has a marked resemblance. According to the poet himself its source is an "exemplaire" (1.8) perhaps the identical "X" founded on C, the missing link, in the filtration of the Latin versions. The description of the nameless knight is as in LA with the added detail that he was hurrying in order to be first on the field (1.20). As in M, he is summoned to mass but there is no mention of any of his retainers accompanying him till we come to the dialogue within the church itself (1.36) a scene which brings this French version nearer ADD<sup>1</sup> and B. For the squire here plays the part of Walewanus, although a Gallicised Walewanus. For in the Latin story he is used merely as a foil to Walter and if we want a Latin analogy to the present lively dispute we must seek it rather in the conflict of the "homo interior" and the "homo exterior" as we find it in the later DeR. The reproach which the author puts into the mouth of the squire in lines 41—43 strikes one of the dominant notes of French literature, the hatred of hypocrisy which is as common to monastic writers of the 13th century as it is to Molière or Voltaire. And, contrary to ADD<sup>1</sup>, the squire is persuaded by the knight's pious eloquence to remain in church. There are, as in LA, congratulations and the surrender of prisoners.

<sup>3</sup> Wiese, Leipzig, 1920, see Index.

<sup>4</sup> + 1236.

"Quid acciderat enarravit" has been expanded into ten lines (67—80). The knight's words towards the end (91—102) remind one of the line in ADD<sup>1</sup> "Tornamentando sibi et ego monachando" and he adds a promise which expresses the chivalric conception of the whole poem (114 etc.). There is no mention of the squire's accompanying him into the monastery and his company take leave of him (103—104) with that sensibility, which for us, is so attractive a feature of mediaeval poetry. The monk supersedes the poet at the end of the poem which he utilises to point two morals, namely that God honours those who delight to hear mass and to serve His sweet Mother, and that habits of youth persist.

The opening lines are doubtless largely responsible for the compelling appeal which this poem makes to the modern reader. They strike a chord of tender naiveté and almost gallant devotion expressed in the apostrophical form, in the repetition of the adjective "doux" and in the pliant recasting which the vernacular speech gives to the idea of the Latin "filio Virginis de cetero militavit". In a sympathetic appreciation of this version, Henry Adams has pointed out the parallel between our knight's reply to his impatient squire —

Cil tournoie moult noblement  
Qui le servise Dieu entent,

and Milton's apologia,

"They also serve who only stand and wait".

The application of the terms of the tournament to the Last Judgment and the metaphor of the last two lines are evidences of a concrete, vivid imagination. If the beginning is just right, so also is the end, the benediction with which the hero is sent into the monastery (96—97), the "happy-ever-after" of the monastic story-teller.

P. = Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden aus dem Passional*, IV.<sup>5</sup>

Almost contemporaneous with the French poem is the Middle High German version as found in the first book of "Das alte Passional". The relation of the whole collection of Mary miracles to the Latin sources has already been discussed.<sup>6</sup> In the present instance it is certainly LA which is behind P and whether the poet had beside him Jacopo's compendium or another in which our LA version had become incorporated is immaterial.

<sup>5</sup> See also Schädel: "Drei Mittelhochdeutsche Gedichte", Hannover, 1845, V. der Hagen "Gesammtabenteuer", III, 74.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 39.

The adoption of rhythmical form has meant certain changes, and the following examples will serve to show the procedure adopted —

P.

Ein ritter was vermezzen,  
an ritterlichem prise,  
wol kune unde wise  
was er und dabi tugenthaft,  
Maria hete grosze kraft  
in einer liebe die er ir  
bot mit stetechlicher gir  
an dienst manegerleie.

Die liute riten ime entgegen  
und sprachen, daz er gar ein  
[Iden  
des tages were alda gewest.  
uf tyost und uf forest  
gesehen sie nie ritters man  
ritterschaft so wol began  
als da sin kune manheit.

LA.

Miles quidam valde strenuus et  
beatae Mariae valde devotus.

Et ecce redeuntes occurrerent  
et ipsum strenuissime militasse  
referunt.

Other additions are accounted for by the desire on the part of the German poet to animate the somewhat lifeless Latin. Thus he makes some attempt to portray the hero's state of mind both on entering and leaving the church —

“Es ist gut daz ich ge  
und hore in kristenlicher e  
Eine messe von Marien.”

and later —

“Die zit beduchte im wesen kurt  
die wile er in der kirchen was  
und gote sein gebet las.”

The conversion of the dialogue between the captives and the victor into direct speech is what one would expect in the translation of any Latin exemplum into a vernacular language. The use of such words as “tyost” and “fôrest” and “buhurt” shows that this cleric was familiar with the technicalities of the tournament and we have in the last lines an expansion of Jacopo's idea of spiritual service. —

“Zur werlde nam er urloub,  
wand im was ir liebe toub;  
ern schuf weder diz noch daz,  
Als er in den wafenen saz,  
Sus reit er in ein kloster hin.

Sin vil gotelicher sin  
 Greif fürbasz an die ritterschaft,  
 Daz er mit aller tugende kraft  
 Marienritter wolde sin.  
 Des si gelobet die kuningin.”<sup>7</sup>

C<sup>1</sup> = “Predigtmärlein” in Strassburger Hs 863, printed  
 by Pfeiffer in *Germania* III.

Pfeiffer’s remarks on the author and home of Ms. Strassburg 863 have not been substantially added to by Bär. It belongs to the 15th century and is the work of a Strassburg nun. This particular extract is a translation of C. The omissions noticed by Bär,<sup>8</sup> the genealogy of Walter, the enumeration of his services to the Virgin were probably absent in the copy of Caesarius used by the nun, as copyists tend in time to suppress non-essential details of a story. So also in her copy the long sentences of the original may already have been broken up and direct speech substituted for indirect, but still the feminine translator shows a finer comprehension of her own language as a medium of expression than the learned Dr. Hartlieb, for instance, whose translation of Caesarius has already been noticed. Her syntax seems slightly influenced by the Latin original, as in the following sentences — “Do die messe us kam, er reit alleine noch.” “Do der turnei zergangen was, ettliche ritter fuorent in sin herberge dar umb, daz er in gnade und miltikeit erzöugete.”

C<sup>2</sup> = Sebastian Brant “*Passional*” (1502) LVIIIb.

Es schribt cesarius dz eins mals was ein ritter hiesz Walther von Biberg d’ het Mariam sunderliche lieb / der wolt eins mals zu einem turnier ryden / da kamen sye underwegen zû einer kirche / do bate er sein gesellen dz sie in mesz liessen horen vñ sein beytēt oder das sie auch mesz hortē des wolte sie nit thûn do belieb er allein da vnd hiesz im ein mesz von unser lieben frawen singen vnd oppfert mit andacht zû der mesz vnd ritte do zû dem turniere do kame im vil lûtt under wegē die sagten im der turnier wer bal zergāgē / do fragt er wer dz best het gethō do sprachē sie all sand es hat herr Walther vñ Biberg / den lobet man für si alle / do ritt erst er in de turnier mit seine wappen vñ endet mit andern rittern mit grossen lob / vñ nach dem turnier kamēt vil ander ritter zû im vn batten in dz er in gnad thete wañ sie ware all in dē turnier vo im gefangē / do erkant er wol dz im die grosz ere vñ unser liebē frawē genad geschehen was die weyl er hat mesz gehort und dācket ir mit grosser andacht vn het sie fürbasz lieb / vnd dienet ir fürbasz mit flysz die wyl er lebt.

<sup>7</sup> P. was modernised, not altogether successfully by Mailath, “*Auserlesene Altdtsche Gedichte*”, Stuttgart u. Tübingen, 1819.

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit.

The above translation of C is interesting as showing how contradictions creep into a story. Caesarius, for instance, distinctly states that Walter did not distinguish himself in the tournament, while his translator here avers the contrary. This version occurs in at least one other 15th century work — “*der Magnet unsrer lieben frawen*” (Cgm 626 f. 202a) where, however, Walter’s home is not mentioned.

AL = Alfonso, “*Cantigas*”, LXIII.

The characteristic feature of the Spanish versions of this legend is their definite connection with an event in national history, the struggle between the Castilian kings and the Moors in the 10th century.<sup>9</sup> The legend occurs in the “*Cantigas*” of the versatile Castilian king Alfonso the Wise (1221—1284) written in the Galician dialect sometime between 1263 and 1284. Fidel Fita<sup>10</sup> seems to infer that G is the original of this version, but we find it much nearer the anonymous French poem discussed above. The hero is not named but he belongs to the retinue of Don Garcia, and the tournament is displaced by a battle against Almanzor at Sant Esteban de Gormaz. The distinctive feature of the poem is the chivalric emphasis on the knight’s personal honour, and the conception of the Virgin as protecting her devotee not so much from danger as from shame.

As in OFr, there is here a squire who complains of the passing of the time and here too it is definitely stated that there are three masses. But in the Spanish the knight ignores the squire’s warning and makes a direct appeal to the Virgin. The actual miracle is not described and it is the count himself who recognises his champion by the marks on his armour.

Once more, then, historical conditions have influenced our legend and the more subtle changes are due to the nationality of the author, a man who was in some measure the living prototype of our hero. For of Alfonso it has been written — “*Dum caelum considerabat, terram amisit*”.<sup>11</sup>

S = “*Castigos e Documentos, del rey Don Sancho ed Gayangos*”.

p. 94. (Bibl. de autores espagnoles 51.)

Derived from AL is the version written by Alfonso’s son. Here the knight is called Ferrand Antolinez and he is the only man in the retinue of Don Garcia who remains on after one mass has been said. The squire, left on guard at the door of the church, watches the

<sup>9</sup> Vaseus, “*Chron. Hispan*”. (1571), p. 527.

<sup>10</sup> See edition of Gil de Zamora.

<sup>11</sup> Fitzmaurice-Kelly: “*Spanish Literature*”, p. 63.

progress of the battle and is ashamed that his master is not helping the Count whose vassal he is. He reproaches the praying knight with cowardice but God sends an angel from the sky to carry off their banner from the Moors. As in AL it is the marks of conflict on his shield that proclaim the victor and all give praise to God and Santa Maria. There is, as in AL, no mention of the warrior's turning monk, for the Spanish authors were rather beyond the orbit of severe monastic influence, and their ideals were necessarily different from those of the cloistered chroniclers of the north. If the rôle of the Virgin is less in S than in AL, it is because the first is an episode in a miscellaneous collection of exempla while the other is one of many songs written purely in honour of the Virgin. The nucleus of the Spanish versions is as follows.

- 1) Scene of conflict a battle, from national history.
- 2) Three masses said, the Knight left alone, as in OFr.
- 3) Angel appears on battlefield, as in M.

It is a remoulding of S that we find in the ballad of Sepulveda<sup>12</sup> which has been translated in abridged form into modern German by J. Fastenrath.<sup>13</sup> Here there is no mention at all of the Virgin and it is of interest chiefly as the immediate source of Uhland's poem "Sankt Georgs Ritter" which will be treated later. Another Spanish work which has our legend as part of the plot is Mira da Mescua's play "Ne que puede el oir missa".<sup>14</sup> The main theme is the conflict between piety and honour on the part of Don Sancho Ossorio, but here the Angel explains the victory and as reward the knight receives the hand of the daughter of his overlord, Count Fernand Gonzalez.

On the whole, then, the Spanish versions are characterised by a lack of spontaneity, (the knight begs to be saved from shame) and by a new emphasis on the warrior's honour and on his duty to his overlord.

Kr. = Kronijk van Holland.

The first appearance of the legend in the vulgar tongue of the Netherlands is the version contained in the "Kronijk van Holland" whose author is designated as "een ongeneemt Clerck, geboren uyten laegen Landen by der Zee" (i. e. Westfriesland). This chronicle, begun about the middle of the 14th century, was written for the same patron as Beka's "Chronicon" and has been most recently published by

<sup>12</sup> Bibl. de autores espagn. X, 468.

<sup>13</sup> Spanischer Romanzenstrausz, Leipzig, 1866, p. 40.

<sup>14</sup> Comedias de las Mejores, I, p. 39.



B. J. L. de Geer van Jutphaas.<sup>15</sup> The person of the chronicler remains an unsolved mystery. Beka seems to be the immediate source of this particular incident, the only change being a confusion of the characters. Instead of Walter from Brabant and Walewanus from Holland, we have here "Wouter Persijn gheboren uit Holland ende was her Jan Persijn's soen ende her Waelwin van Laefdael ende was heren Rogierszoon van Laefdael". Wybrandts<sup>16</sup> explains this confusion by the nationality of the Clerk who would naturally assign to his own countryman the chief rôle. The change is really of little moment. It is another example of the adaptation of a story to the environment of its narrator, an inevitable feature of the life of any legend. As in ADD<sup>1</sup> and B the attendance at mass is a preconcerted arrangement and the rôles of Walter and Walewanus, up to their final renunciation of the world, remain as in these Latin versions. It is this form of the legend which is given in Dutch by Soetboom<sup>17</sup> and Gouthoven<sup>18</sup> and in condensed modern German by Wolf.<sup>19</sup>

DeV = De Vooy, "Middelnederlandse Marialegenden", p. 56.

Alongside of Kr we have the version printed by De Vooy which is worth quoting in full as being representative of the Dutch group:

"Het was een ridder die seer devoet was om Maria die maghet ende moeder gods te dienen Mer hi voer seer gaerne ten tornoye ende tot steecspeel, Op een tiyt doe hi totten tornoye waert voer Doe soude hi voor bi een cloester riden dat in der eren Maria der maghet ende moeder godes ghesticht was Ende hi ginc in dat cloester om misse te horen ende men dede veel missen die een nader ander Ende hi en woude gheen misse onghehoort om die minne van onser liever vrouwen Ten lesten doe die missen al ghedaen waren Dce ghinc hi wtten cloester ende ghinc haestilec totten tornoye waert Ende siet daer quamen ridderen ende wel gheboren mannen wtten tornoye desen ridder to gehemoet ende si seiden tot hem dat hi alte vromelic ghetorniert hadde ende die sommighe quamen ende seiden dat si sin ghevanghen waren ende doe si dat alle seiden die dar quamen so verstont die ridder wel dat hem die hoechste coninghinne Maria die maghet ende moeder gods hoechlic geërt hadde Ende hi vertelde alden volc wat hi gedaen hadde ende hoe hi ghevaren hadde ende wat hem gesciet was ende doe hi hem allen dat gheseit had de doe begaf hi hem daer in dat selve cloester ende diende Maria sinrye vriendinnen alle die daghen sijns levens."

It is doubtful if any other form could produce the naive and homely effect of this early Dutch translation of LA. It has all the

<sup>15</sup> Bronnen van de geschiednis der Nederlanden in de Middeleeuwen (1867).

<sup>16</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>17</sup> De Soetstemmende Zwaane van Waterland, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> D'oude Chronyck etc. fol. 303.

<sup>19</sup> Niederländische Sagen, Leipzig, 1843, p. 42.

familiarity of a fairy tale, all the intimacy of a Dutch interior, revealing in its punctilious repetitions, (e. g. "Maria maghet ende moeder Godes") and explanations (e. g. "wat hi ghedaen hadde ende hoe hi ghevaren hadde ende wat hem gesciet was") that love of detail which characterises all Dutch art. We need only compare DeV with its original LA to realise fully the child-like insistence and continuity of the Dutch story. There is no stinting of the praise due to Mary. Her Son is not mentioned and the "filio virginis de cetero militavit" of LA becomes "ende diende Maria sinrye vriendinnen alle die daghen sijns levens". It is true that the exemplum here forms part of a collection of miracles in honour of the Virgin, but LA too, formed one of a series grouped round one of her Feasts, so that there is scarcely a question of a changed purpose on the part of the narrator. By virtue of the subtle effect of his native idiom, he has brought about a transformation without materially altering the facts of the story.

### Modern Versions.

To the revived interest in the Middle Ages which is one of the chief features of the Romantic Movement in Germany, we owe the modern forms of our legend. The variations are now due not to an unconscious difference of nationality and outlook but to the varying artistic powers of the individual authors, to their capacity, for instance, of preserving the spirit of the original.

Ko. = Kosegarten, "Legenden" I, 124..

Kosegarten's prosaic summary must be one of the first appearances of the story in modern garb. It was under Herder's influence that the pastor of Altenkirchen undertook the re-modelling of mediaeval legends, his aim, like his master's, being the spiritual improvement of his readers. Scholars<sup>20</sup> complain of his vagueness when he indicates his sources, but they ignore the few data he does give. Kosegarten acknowledges, in his preface, (p. XI) his indebtedness to Sebastian Brant. His legend of the Virgin as knight is a transcription from the "Passionael",<sup>21</sup> i. e. of our version C<sup>2</sup>.

Kosegarten recognises his own limitations when he discusses the difficulty of transposing these stories into the language of his own day, but it was his mediocre achievement which made subsequent and more successful treatment possible.

<sup>20</sup> E. g. Leitzmann: "Die Quellen zu G. Keller's Sieben Legenden", Halle, 1919, XX, cf. also Watenphul, op. cit.

<sup>21</sup> Most of his Mary-legends come from the same source.

R = Rückert, "Maria Siegreich" (Gedichte, Erlangen, 1839.

Bd. III, p. 70).

Rückert's ballad is the first rhymed version in modern German. He wrote it on March 17th, 1812, and Magon<sup>22</sup> suggests that he either used the same source as Uhland (see below) or that he was inspired by a notice in some Romantic Almanack. It seems possible, however, that Rückert may have found his direct source in Ko. If his own reminiscences are to be trusted,<sup>23</sup> we gather that Kosegarten was one of the favourite poets of his youth, and the second edition of the "Legenden" in 1810 may very well be responsible for Rückert's poem. The variations are very slight. Herr Walter, the hero, is presented in the first stanzas, riding to a tournament, in the midst of companions. He allows his reins to fall while he crosses himself in prayer. The hero thus left to his own devices, strays from the highway. It is no bell but a call from Heaven itself which brings the pious knight to his knees.

"Und durch's verhallende Getümmel  
Des Kämpferzuges dringt zum Ohr  
Des Einsamen ein Ruf vom Himmel,  
Der Ritter lauschend schaut empor:  
Sieh da! sein Ross hält an der Schwelle  
Von Sankt Mariä Waldkapelle".

He enters and as in the Spanish versions, definitely asks for help. He falls asleep and has a vision of his success in the lists and especially of three opponents he has overcome. On waking, he sees that the day is spent and he makes a final prayer of submission —

"O Herrin, wie du's fügst, ist's gut,  
Gefochten haben meine Brüder,  
Derweil ich hab in dir geruht,  
Vermessen ist des Menschen Denken,  
Dein Ratschluss weiss es recht zu lenken".

He does not proceed, but is on his way to his castle when he meets his three captives laden with gifts for his propitiation. Again Walter hears a voice —

"Weil du auf meine Siegesmächte  
Vertrauest zuversichtlich,  
Hab ich bewaffnet meine Rechte  
Gekämpft hab ich selbst für Dich.

<sup>22</sup> "Der junge Rückert, sein Leben und Schaffen", Halle, 1914, p. 160.

<sup>23</sup> Magon op. cit. (p. 19).

Die ich für dich errungen habe  
Nimm hin mit Dank die Siegesgabe".

and he recommends his captives to offer their gifts to Mary whose right they are.

U = Uhland, "Sankt Georg's Ritter".

Magon (loc. cit.) refers to the similarity between R and Uhland's ballad which appeared in 1815. It is founded on the Spanish version S as it appears in Sepulveda. It has all the characteristics of the popular ballad, opening with a battle scene on which follows as contrast, the solitude of St. George's chapel where the absent knight is praying. Uhland has substituted "Pascal Vivas" for the "Ferrand Antolinez" of the original and it is the Count himself and not a squire who reproaches the defaulter. In place of the saving angel we have here St. George, the patron saint of chivalry — a change which really places Uhland's poem beyond our domain.

Si = Simrock "Walter von Birbeck" (Rheinsagen, No. 141).

On much the same level as R is Simrock's poem, a rhymed version of C with some added details. The incident, for instance, is located at Darmstadt, a detail which Kaufmann<sup>24</sup> suggests may have come from Rixner's "Turnierbuch". The scene of the devotion is evidently no longer a church but a wayside shrine —

"Was begegnet ihm auf der Heide,  
Maria im weissen Kleide.

Maria Himmelskönigin  
Heute gib nur Sieg, du Siegerin".

Sein Herz in Freuden schwimmt und schwebt  
Weil er den Blick zur Jungfrau hebt.

Wohin ist ihm der Geist entrückt?  
In Andacht kniet er wie verzückt.

Das nimmt die Benedeite wahr  
Da steigt sie nieder vom Altar.

And the poet describes in detail Mary's donning the armour of her protégé. Here, too, three captives are mentioned and the exhortation at the end is similar to R and different in spirit from any of the mediaeval versions.

<sup>24</sup> Annalen für die Geschichte des Niederrheins, Heft 53, p. 34.

“Ihr müsset dienen lebenslang,  
Dienen Marien,  
Der lieben Frau, die euch bezwang,  
Alle Himmel bieten ihr Ehre.

Ke = Gottfried Keller, “Sieben Legenden”, ed. Leitzmann, p. 64.

In Keller's story *Zendelwald* the hero, is forced by his mother to take part in a tournament, the prize of which is the hand of the beautiful and wealthy widow, Bertrade. On his way thither, he enters a chapel where he falls asleep over his devotions. The Virgin steps down from the altar, dons the armour of *Zendelwald*, vanquishes formidable opponents and is enjoying the betrothal banquet when *Zendelwald* arrives and replaces his champion. Later on in the evening, he explains the whole situation to Bertrade who accepts him all the more willingly as a heaven-sent gift.

Keller acknowledges his debt to Kosegarten<sup>25</sup> for his material and recognises predecessors<sup>26</sup> in his treatment. Leitzmann suggests an essay of Feuerbach's as a possible source of Keller's interest in these Mary-legends and as an explanation of his method. That method is best characterised by the author himself in his “Vorwort”. “Wie nun der Maler durch ein fragmentarisches Wolkenbild, eine Gebirgslinie, durch das radierte Blättchen eines verschollenen Meisters zur Ausfüllung eines Rahmens gereizt wird, so verspürte der Verfasser die Lust zu einer Reproduktion jener abgebrochenen schwebenden Gebilde, wobei ihnen freilich zuweilen das Antlitz nach einer anderen Himmelsgegend hingewendet wurde, als nach welcher sie in der überkommenen Gestalt schauen.”<sup>27</sup>

And when we examine his method closely, we are amazed at his ingenuity in filling in the bare outlines of Ko, and at his almost acrobatic skill in facing both ways. For he contrives to preserve the original motives of the legend but modifies these and adds others so as to make an appeal to the modern world. Such an addition is the love interest, an almost essential element of the modern “Novelle”. *Zendelwald*, his hero, combines the diffidence of Hamericus with the prowess of Walter and is characterised by that lack of “push” (or tardy reaction, as the psycho-analysts have it) typical of the majority of Keller's heroes and, to some extent, of Keller himself. “Es war

<sup>25</sup> P. XXVII.

<sup>26</sup> P. XXV.

<sup>27</sup> P. 35.

einmal ein Ritter, der hieß Walter von Birberg" writes Kosegarten and Keller expands this into a paragraph of psychological analysis bringing us back to the Middle Ages with a jerk at the end. "Überdies war er träg in Handlungen und Worten. Wenn sein Geist und sein Herz sich eines Dinges bemächtigt hatten, was immer vollständig und mit Feuer geschah, so brachte es Zendelwald nicht über sich, den ersten Schritt zu einer Verwirklichung zu tun, da die Sache für ihn abgemacht schien, wenn er inwendig damit im Reinen war. . . . Aber nicht nur seinem Munde, auch seiner Hand waren seine Gedanken so voraus, daß er im Kampfe von seinen Feinden öfters beinahe besiegt wurde, weil er zögerte, den letzten Streich zu tun, den Gegner schon im Voraus zu seinen Füßen sehend. Deshalb erregte seine Kampfweise auf allen Turnieren Bewunderung, indem er stets zuerst sich kaum rührte, und nur in der größten Not mit einem tüchtigen Ruck obsiegte."<sup>28</sup> The end of the story is in accordance with modern requirements. For Keller the height of happiness is not retirement to a monastery, but rather the opposite, the throwing aside of the trammels of contemplation and the girding of the loins for action — a state of bliss which he describes with the finality of a fairy-tale. "Von jetzt an verließ aber den Ritter Zendelwald alle seine Trägheit und träumerische Unentschlossenheit; er tat und redete alles zur rechten Zeit, vor der zärtlichen Bertrade so wohl, als vor der übrigen Welt und wurde ein ganzer Mann im Reiche, so daß der Kaiser ebenso zufrieden mit ihm war, als seine Gemahlin."<sup>29</sup>

Zendelwald's mother and Bertrade are the author's invention and the former belongs to that series of masculine women who seem to have possessed some attraction for the under-sized and awkward Swiss poet. Again mediaeval externals remind the reader that Keller is not dealing with a "new woman". "Zendelwald's Mutter war eine vollkommene Jägerin und schoß mit der Armbrust wilde Tauben und Waldhühner nach Gelüsten; auch fischte sie Forellen aus den Bächen und pflasterte eigenhändig das Schlößchen mit Kalk und Steinen, wo es schadhaft war. Eben war sie mit einem erlegten Hasen heimgekommen, und schaute, als sie das Tier vor das Fenster ihrer hochgelegenen Küche hing, nochmal ins Tal hinaus; da sah sie ihren Sohn den Weg heraufreiten und ließ freudig die Brücke nieder, weil er seit Monaten fort gewesen." Her appearance on the roof of her castle has that touch of the grotesque so common in Keller.

Keller explains that in "Guhl der Geschwinde" and "Maus der Zahllose", the Virgin's opponents in the tournament, we have burlesque

<sup>28</sup> P. 65.

<sup>29</sup> P. 75.

representations of Germany's enemies, the French and the Slav — an explanation which certainly lends piquancy to the details he gives of their appearance. Apart from his detached treatment of the characters (the reader is conscious all the time of the twinkle in the author's eye) certain particular instances might be given of what Leitzmann calls his "menschlich-ironische Methode"<sup>30</sup>. Zendelwald's behaviour, for example, when he wishes to convince himself of the reality of his experience — "So saß er dann und um den vermeintlichen Traum recht zu probieren, ergriff er den vor ihm stehenden Becher und leerte ihn auf einen Zug" and above all the description of the rout of "Maus der Zahllose".

Kürnberger in reviewing the "Sieben Legenden"<sup>31</sup> sees in the book the naiveté of Homer, the satire of Voltaire, the grace of Heine and the humour of Jean Paul. But more than these, this story shows the humanity of Gottfried Keller. His aim in treating these legends he states clearly enough "Ich glaube die Freiheit der Stoffwahl damit zu behaupten gegenüber dem Terrorismus des äußerlich Zeitgemäßen, immerhin eine deutliche, gut protestantische Verspottung katholischer Mythologie zu begehen".<sup>32</sup> Divesting the story of its native trappings he discerned in it a mode of expression suited to his own artistic and ethical point of view. His forerunners reproduced an obsolete legend and their accomplishment is of interest to students of history and folklore. Gottfried Keller, by virtue of the divine spark within him, created a living work of art of universal appeal.

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<sup>30</sup> Leitzmann, p. XXVI.

<sup>31</sup> Leitzmann, p. 165.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, p. XXVI.

### CHAPTER III. CONCLUSION.

It is a far cry from Walter Map to Gottfried Keller, — almost seven centuries of change in life and art. In some respects, no doubt, it is an unprofitable pursuit to study in detail any particular story. It certainly does not lead to the establishment of an exact genealogical tree. For this story, in its essentials, presupposes no definite conditions of time or place which might fix its origin. The skeleton of the legend depends on a universal attitude of the human mind towards the protecting deity as "one who fighteth for us", an attitude which has persisted from the pillar of fire before the fleeing Israelites down to the Angels of Mons. It was convenient, however, to take as starting point the moment when the Virgin assumed the rôle of saviour. Regarded thus, this legend becomes part of the spoil appropriated by the Virgin Mary during the years which mark the zenith of her power. The amazing extent of that power has been apologised and accounted for by theologians and scholars of all ages. It is best given, perhaps, in R. de Fleury's "*Iconographie de la sainte Vierge*" but it can be read in our everyday vocabulary, in the names of our commonest wild-flowers, of our inns and streets, to say nothing of the towers and spires raised in her honour in every town in Western Europe. The cult of the Virgin is usually regarded as a result of an intermingling of sacred and secular movements, — of monasticism and chivalry. The progress of an official and constitutional worship of the Virgin is marked by such events as the institution of her Feasts and the foundation of orders like the Cistercian: it was within the monasteries that the great mass of thoroughly heretical legends arose.

The popular attitude towards the Virgin may be much illumined by the study of such a legend as ours. It shows her complete absorption of even the most remote spheres of human activity. There is, of course, no need to seek in Freya the direct ancestor of the warrior Virgin<sup>1</sup> and there is still less occasion to comment on the inappropriateness of the battlefield as a stage for the humble Mary of the Magnificat.<sup>2</sup> Writers are apt to marvel at her

<sup>1</sup> See Kaufmann, *Annalen*, Heft 53, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Adams op. cit. p. 268 et seq.



predilection for soldiers and at her part in warfare, forgetting that fighting was a more usual occupation in those days and that any popular deity is omnipotent. It is a very small step from acknowledging the Virgin as the giver of victory — a practice which began very early — to investing her with a rôle on the battlefield itself. In those days the Amazon was probably a figure more familiar in actual life than she is to-day. Moreover, people whose imagination held visions of mounted Walküren would certainly find nothing incongruous in the conception of the Virgin as knight.

It is not then, the appearance of Mary as a knight with astonishes us: it is her approval of the tournament, an entertainment which was condemned by all good churchmen<sup>3</sup>. Here we have the revolutionary aspect of the cult of the Virgin expressing the contempt of the lay mind for the regulations of authority. In almost every legend Mary aids and abets the rebels of society, and in the inevitable conflicts between her and the devil for the possession of the sinner's soul, an impartial on-looker must admit that right is rarely on her side. This heretical conception of Mary met the needs of the time and it is only a conscientious writer like Caesarius who finds it necessary to explain away her countenancing tournaments in the face of all the threats of Holy Church. "Two mortal sins", he says, "are committed at tournaments — pride and disobedience: pride, for men joust for the sake of earthly praise, and disobedience because it is done against the prohibition of Holy Church; wherefore those who are slain in tournaments are buried apart from the faithful and without the church-yard. But (and here he refers to our story) since the service of the aforesaid mass, if it had been rendered for charity, might have been meritorious to Walter for eternal life, therefore in this case it was transferred to his temporal reward."

Walter's sin, however, is not so obvious as that of the erring Beatrice, or Eppo the thief. He is to be ranked rather with the poor Tumbler, both being sportsmen, who had need of so largehearted a patron as Mary. In this case her championship is (with the exception of the Spanish versions) entirely unsolicited and on that account this story has a certain spontaneity when compared, say, with the commercial bargaining in the legend of the poor mother who steals the Child Jesus as a hostage for her son. Our legend, too, has something in common with the series known as the Mary-Bridegroom cycle, for here as there, the solution is the monastic one. Our knight gives up the lists to enter the cloister, thus typifying the extremes which the

<sup>3</sup> L. Gautier "*La chevalerie*", p. 681.

mediaeval world attempted to combine. He is no isolated example of the attraction of the monastic life for warriors. His age is the age of the church militant in the most literal sense of the word. Each of the new orders which the 12th and 13th centuries brought into life, looked upon itself as a Salvation Army and no general could be more bellicose than Bernard of Clairvaux, who can write thus to deserters, "Arise, soldier of Christ, arise, shake off the dust, return to the battle whence thou hast fled... O battle, safe with Christ, for Christ — only flight loses the victory which death does not lose", or again, "What doest thou in the city, dainty soldier? Thy fellows, whom thou hast deserted fight and conquer, they storm heaven and reign, and thou, sitting on thy palfrey, clothed in purple and fine linen, goest ambling about the highways."<sup>4</sup> The records of monasteries are full of accounts of warriors who exchanged the lance for the cross, putting off the shirt of mail to don the no more comfortable hair shirt of penitence. The story of Theobald Abbot of the Cistercian foundation at Vernay, is identical with that of our hero, and we are not without English analogies.

If this legend illustrates that contempt for compromise which was the very essence of monasticism, it also, to some extent, denotes the decay of chivalry. It does, indeed, contain the devotion to a woman which was one of the elements of chivalry but there is an age of difference between the temper of a knight who can linger at his prayers while Mary jousts for him and, say, the hero of the "Ludwigslied" hastening to answer the clarion call "Hludwig kuning min, Hilph minan liuten"! Here there is the faintest echo of Roland and Roncevaux. Still we find in it the blending of the most attractive ideals of an era, which, if it be not so virile as the age of Charlemagne, still preserves a chivalrous devotion to the Mother of God and an ascetic conception of life as a strenuous spiritual conflict.

Such is the milieu of the story whose filtration through Western Europe we have followed. We have considered in all 24 versions, 10 in Latin, 1 being in verse (ADD<sup>1</sup>) and 14 in various vernacular tongues, 6 of which are in verse (OFr, P, AL, R, Si, U). It may be that there are others; it is fairly certain, for instance that ADD<sup>1</sup> must have had a prose original, but we have exhausted all the known sources. In 18 cases (M, C, LA, G, SL, AN, ADD<sup>2</sup>, OI, OFr, P, C<sup>1</sup>, C<sup>2</sup>, DeV, R, Si, U, Ko, Ke,) the devotion is called forth either by the ringing of a bell or by the mere sight of a church. In ADD<sup>1</sup>, B, and DeR, it is the performance of a regular duty and in Kr the hero arranges the previous

<sup>4</sup> Taylor (H): "The Mediaeval Mind", London, 1914, p. 412.

evening for his attendance at mass. In AL and S it is also the observance of a regular custom and in these versions, to begin with at least, the service is attended by all the hero's friends. There are unimportant variations in the length of time occupied by the devotion. Only in M does the tournament last three days. In C and its derivatives (C<sup>1</sup> and Ko) and also in ADD<sup>2</sup> there is only one mass, said in the first instance at the request of Walter: in ADD<sup>1</sup> and B the masses are specified by name — that of the Holy Ghost followed by that of the Virgin, while in other cases these become three (AL, S) or an anonymous unnumbered succession. In modern versions (R, Si, Ke) it is the hero's physical condition and not his piety which prevents his interrupting service. In C, C<sup>1</sup>, C<sup>2</sup> and Ko Walter actually takes part in the combat, which is localised only in Si and which becomes a real battle only in the Spanish versions.

The prowess of the divine substitute is emphasised differently in M by enemies who seek their conqueror to admire him, these becoming more concretely in C and subsequent versions, prisoners pleading for mercy, while in AL and S the captured standards and the battered armour form the chief evidence. In Ke the Virgin follows up her good-fortune in the lists by success in love.

More interesting are the variations of the ending. C stands alone in that it has no proper ending. In M the hero enters the Templar Order, in LA, G, SL, AN, OI, OFr, P, DeV, Ko, he devotes his life to the service of the Virgin or her Son: in ADD<sup>1</sup>, B, DeR, Kr Himmenrode is mentioned as the final haven, while the hero of ADD<sup>2</sup>, AL and S considers the praise of God sufficient thanks. In R and Si not the hero's life but the prisoners' gifts are offered in gratitude for the miracle. In Ke we have the change in character which has already been discussed.

The person of the hero changes with local conditions—Hamericus in M, Walter of Birbeck in C, C<sup>1</sup>, Ko, DeR, Si, R, ADD<sup>1</sup> ("Brabantinus") B ("ex Brabantia") Wouter Persijn in Kr, Ferrand Antolinez in S, Pascal Vivas in U, Zendelwald in Ke, while all the other versions leave him unnamed. His character varies with the fancy of the writer but with the exception of M and Ke, the standard set by Caesarius persists fairly steadily. In certain versions we have a representative of the hero's company singled out—the unnamed friend of M, the patient squire of OFr, AL and S and the Walewanus of ADD<sup>1</sup>, B, and Kr. In the Spanish versions Don Garcia, and in Ke, Bertrade and Zendelwald's mother are introduced.

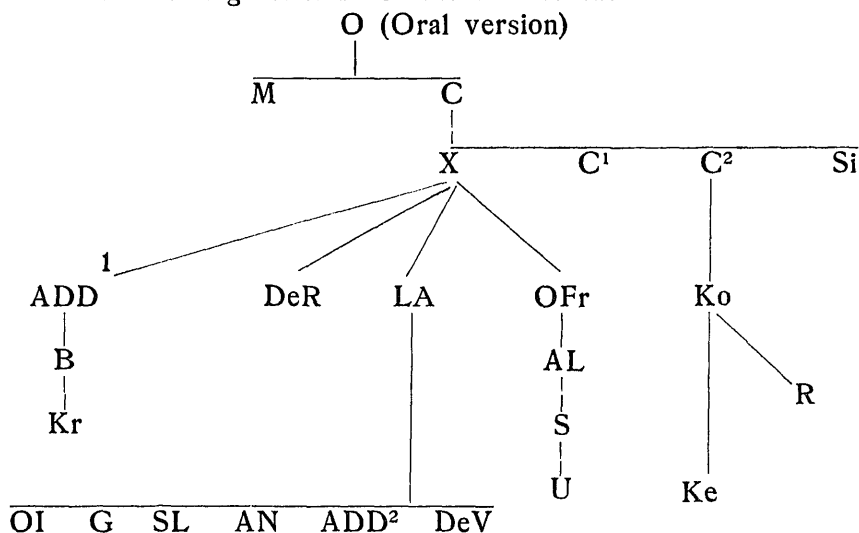
The Virgin is not mentioned in M, ADD<sup>2</sup>, DeR, S and U. In AL she takes the knight's place on his own petition. Throughout, the homage paid to her is greater in the vernacular than in the Latin. In Ke she combines the rôles of warrior and lover and only in the Spanish versions where she champions the cause of the Christians against the Moors, can she be said to be orthodox. The description of the miraculous disappearance of the victor is everywhere evaded save in M and Ke.

We have seen the literary value vary with the author's talent and purpose. In some cases the legend was an anecdote in the life of a great man (e. g. C, ADD<sup>1</sup>, DeR) and in these a certain hero-worship found expression. It has been used for didactic purposes varying from the poetic expression in OFr of chivalrous devotion to the Virgin to the baldness of ADD<sup>2</sup> when it becomes a peg of less importance than the exhortations which hang thereon. It reaches most perfect form when told for its own sake as in the first and last versions. In considering stylistic changes between the Latin and vernacular forms, certain constant accompaniments have been noticed, (1) amplification — both necessary and natural when one remembers that the Latin version was often a mere text. These amplifications are generally an attempt to explain things, to provide the tale with some psychology, as in P. (2) In most cases an increase of emotion, whereby we are reminded that the authors of the Latin version were not writing in their mother-tongue, though Walter Map and Caesarius of Heisterbach manage to write as if they were. This emotional animation can be seen, for instance, in such a simple device as the conversion of indirect into direct speech, and more strikingly, perhaps, in a comparison of the appellations of the Virgin. Even if these are 'considered as formal terms with little meaning, it is still significant that there was in the Latin no equivalent of "liebe", the constant qualification in German and Dutch. Perhaps the best instance of this is DeV, which, as we saw, is a translation of LA; the Dutchman's rendering of "beata virgo" is "Maria die maghet ende moder godes" and of "urbana regina", "sinyre vriendinne".

Thus we have followed the progress of our legend, and it is the progress of most legends. Beginning in a simple human need (protection from danger) it crystallised round a definite figure at a time when dishonour was man's greatest peril and when the intervention of supernatural champions was eminently natural. From this point the story has served, in a limited sense, as a divining rod of national psychology, for the vernacular versions are tinged with qualities one

is tempted to call national— French grace, Spanish chivalry, Dutch realism. Our study is thus a foot-note to the history of European culture and as such it has been no will-o'-the-wisp chase. Springing first into the field of human expression from the fertile imagination of the Anglo Norman, the Legend of the Virgin as Knight has trickled through the desert of didactic literature to be finally rescued from complete evaporation by the genius of Gottfried Keller. He recognised that, though the values of the twelfth century may not be those of the twentieth, they still have a common denominator—the humanity of both.

Table showing relations of versions to each other



## APPENDIX.



## APPENDIX.

Hartmann v. Aue, Der Arme Heinrich.  
From J. Klapper, Program, Breslau, 1914.  
p. 21 et seq.

### A.

Cod. MS. I F. 115 (161rb) Pulcrum de leproso curato (N) on est melius medicamentum lepre spiritualis quam benignitas et misericordia. Legitur quod fuit quidam miles strenuus circa Renum Albertus nomine, qui casu quem passus est, pauper cognominatus est.

Hic erat dives et mire pietatis. Sed vanitati milicie supra modum deditus. Quem dominus volens castigare, respexit in eum oculis clemencie et more benignissimi patris flagellum lepre fetide in eum misit. Qui omnia tanquam Job benigne sufferens deum in donis suis benedixit. Sed cum propter horrorem faciei et fetorem extrinsecum serui sui et familiares ab eo recessissent. Amicique ut alteri Job bona sua invasissent ipsi insultantes. Ille amicorum victus tedis et verecundia.

Et medecina omnia, que habuit consumpsit. Sed cum ei pecunia defecisset, simul amici et plures medicorum evanuerunt. Qui vultum non verens ad locum amicorum suorum cessit ubi pauper XIII annis mansit.

### B.

Cod. MS. II F. 118 (172v) De Misericordia.

Comes quidam strenuus nomine Henricus qui a casu quem passus est pauper cognominabatur.

Hic erat devotus et mire pietatis, sed necessitatibus milicie supra modum deditus. Quem deus volens castigare, respexit oculis misericordia sue et more benigni patris super hunc lepre fetide misit.

Qui omnia tanquam alter Job benigne sufferens et deum in donis suis benedixit. Sed cum propter horrorem fetoris serui et familiares ab eo recesserunt atque amici ut altero Job insultantes bona sua invaserunt.

Quorum partem in medicinis expendit. Sed cum ei pecunia defecit amici et pulvis medicorum. Tedio et verecundia affectus vultum non ferens suorum ad loca ignota secessit ubi pauper digens XIII annis mansit.



Tandem venit medicus qui dixit: Si aurum haberet iste pauper, ego ipsum curarem. At ille promisit sibi dare quidquid vellet, confidens in subsidium germanorum et aliorum amicorum, dummodo cum eo iret ad suos. Factum est, ut amici consensum adhiberent. Sed cum medicus Albertum pauperem in ejus infirmitate indicasset fore leprosum, dixit, quod nullo modo curari posset, nisi sagwine humano casto, qui voluntarie moreretur.

Adest igitur paupercula virgo que recordata vestium, quas pater ejus de curia Alberti quondam sibi portaverat, querens, quidnam contingeret de domine Alberto. Et responsum est ei, quod ipse esset ille leprosus quem homines abhorrent, et si haberet hominem qui voluntarie moreretur, in suo sagwine curaretur. Que statim currens ad Albertum dixit: Domine, recordor vestium, quas per patrem meum michi destinasti.

Et ideo ut posses mundari, parata sum mori pro tua sanitate. Qui gaudens duxit illam ad medicum qui preparavit vasa ad hoc, quod sagwinem eliceret de virgine.

Quod videns albertus dixit: Absit ut de crudeli morte tam fidelii virginis sanitatem recipiam. Melius est michi mori salua vita virtuosae virginis, quam per ejus interitum crudelem meam recipere sanitatem. Et hoc dicto medico dedit licenciam dicens (164rb)

Tandem venit medicus qui dixit: si aurum dare posset pauper iste, sanarem eum, qui sibi promisit dare, quidquid vellet, confidens in suffragium amicorum.

Sed cum medicus henricum pauperem et ejus infirmitatem advertisset, dixit quod nullo modo curari posset nisi in sanguine humano qui voluntarie moreretur.

Adest virgo paupercula recordata vestium, quas pater ejus de curia ei portaverat, querens que contingeret de domino henrico.

Responsum est quod ipse esset leprosus ille, quem abhorrent homines, et si haberet unum hominem, voluntarie pro eo morientum a lepra mundaretur. Et virgo statim currens ad henricum dixit: Domine recordor vestium, quas pater meus aliquando de gracia vestra michi attulit igitur ut vos mundari possitis parata sum pro vestra salute mori. Qui gaudens duxit eum ad medicum, qui preparabat vasa ad hoc ut sanguinem eliceret de virgine.

Quod vidit henricus, dixit: Absit ut de crudeli morte pie sanitatem reciperem.

Melius est michi mori salua vita virginis, quam quod per ejus crudelem interitum meam sanitatem reciperem. Ed hoc dicto medico dedit licenciam dicendo quod

quod nollet sanus fieri per alterius mortem. Eadem nocte dominus apparens ei ipsum sanavit et thesauros a suis parentibus olim absconditas sibi ostendit. Albertus autem vendita exsoluens emit ampliora. Illam duxit virginem, que pro ipso mori voluerat, in uxorem et post longum tempus expirans quievit in pace.

nollet sanus fore per mortem alicujus. Eadem nocte Jhesus apparens sibi ipsum sanavit et thesauros absconditos a suis parentibus sibi ostendit. Henricus autem exsoluens vendita, virginem que pro eo mori voluit in uxorem duxit et postea in Christo quievit.

### “DER HELLER DER ARMEN FRAU”.

Brit. Mus. MS. Arundel 506 f 13b.

D T des MAs Vol. XVII, p. 19.

#### Miraculum de elemosina.

Quidam rex fecit edificari ecclesiam sumptibus propriis et noluit quod aliquis elemosinam suam ad illam (col. 2) ecclesiam daret sed ipse solus vellet facere expensas et vellet solus meritum habere a domino et retributionem. Cum iam diu et fortiter reedificaretur tantum et asini continue labore in vectura aquae et lapidum. Contigit enim quidam paupercula morens apud ecclesiam in neniendo quaderantem acquisisset quem pro feno dedit et lassis animalibus ad comedendum dedit. Tandem ecclesia consumpta fecit rex depingi in eadem ecclesia et scripsit sic quod ipse eandem construxisset et nullus alter. In ipsa nocte venit angelus delens istam scripturam et depinxit illam viduam nomine sophyam quae ipsa ecclesiam illam sumptibus suis construxisset et nullus alter. Quod rex videns commotus maxime fecit delere scripturam illam et ipse iterato depingit et hoc ter fecit et angelus deleuit et rescripsit viduam. Tunc fecit inquiri si aliquis dicta esset ibi nomine sophia et inventa fuit et ducta ad regem. Tandem rex conquisivit ab ea si ipsa construxisset ecclesiam, respondit paupercula ut non. Conquisivit si aliquid ad hoc ministrasset quod secure diceret et illa respondit — Domine salva reverentia vestra nichil addi praeter quadrantem quem nendo acquisivi, illum dedi pro feno et dedi asinis cum lassi fuissent in vehendo. Tandem rec humiliavit se at cogitavit quod ille quadrans acceptior deo quam totum suum regnum et sic humilitate effective servivit deo.

THOMAS v. KANDELBERC. GA III, p. 572.

Klapper. Exempla aus Mittelalterlichen Handschriften, p. 279.<sup>1</sup>

Sanctus Thomas Cantuariensis ab adolescencia sua castissimus utpote qui beate Marie suam promiserat castitatem. Cum autem esset

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. v. Heisterbach: Fragmente ed. Meister, p. 161.

cum sociis suis sicut liliū inter spinas, audivit seculares secularia tractare et iactantes se de speciosi et specialibus suis dominabus et de clenodyis sibi datis ab ipsis: tandem de illis dixit: "Nichil est de quo vos. dicitis et iactatis: ego habeo amicam meam que omnium vestrum precellit amicas, qui michi clenodium dedit, cui simile nunquam vidistis. Hoc totum spiritualiter natabat sed ipse secundum suam mentem recipere non volebat. Supplices ergo instantissime ut ipsis clenodium suum ostendit et cum ipsis evoluere voluisset aufugit in ecclesiam et se ad orationem contulit orans, ut sibi beata Virgo presumptuosum verbum indulgeret. Et ecce in visu beata Virgo pulcherrima apparuit et consolans eum flentem dixit: "Ne timeas quia bene excellenciam inter socios tue amicitie, ymmo inter omnes homines optimebis. Deditque ei pixidem valde parvulam nimis pulchram. Reversus ad se, Thomas abire volebat. Sed socii prefati videntes eum iterum pro ostensionem clenody insistebant. Tandem in manu ejus eandem pixidem rapuerunt. Aperientes viderunt parum de purpura et ipsam detrahentes et ecce sequebatur et prodit casula pulcherrima mirabiliter et bene facta. Verbum hoc venit ad episcopum Cantuariensem et accersitum Thomam (interrogavit) et comperta ab eo veritate providit ea in studio et in expensis preordinans eum in animo suo sibi successorem futurum: quod et post modum factum est.

# SIEGFRIED DER DORFER. "UNSER FRAUWEN TROST".

British Museum MS. Arundel 506 f. 26a.

(coll) Miraculum Marie.

Quidam erat miles dives valde: curam benemuratum et in curia diversas arbores et diversi generis piscinas et capellam in eadem curia habebat in qua raro vel nunquam celebrabatur missa, sed uxor militis predicti multum devota beatae virgini in ea orationes et psalterium suum assidue legit pro quo, a viro suo multotiens verberibus correpta quod propter beatam virginem et ejus dulcem filium patienter pertulit; predictus miles ferocissimus erat in omnibus actibus suis, tamen mulier sue multa verbera patientissime intulit aliquando vere ictu ipsam tantum percussit quod ad terram cecidit, nec vidit, nec audivit, et hoc sine aliqua culpa; uxor nichil aliud fecit nisi quod intravit capellam et conquista fuit beatae virgini beatae cujus imago stetit in altari cum tanto fletu quod lapides lacrimis dominae praedictae madefaciebantur; non tamen rogavit pro morte militis sed ut deus ipsum converteret; predictis miles nihil solebat facere nisi in tornamentis ludere et mala verba dicere, et nec deum nec dyabolum formidabat. Cum iam multis

annis valde patienti animo omnia verbera uxor praedicti militis sustinisset et pro conversione ipsius beatam virginem multis precibus attemptasset et nihil in omnibus suis orationibus profiteret, quasi in desperationem lapsa est et ita patienter verbera pati non potuit sicut antea fecit tamen beatae virgini orationem orans fudit frequenter licet ipsa non sentit et efficaciam alicujus orationis prius factae. Quodam sancto die uxor militis sepefati de capella exiens facta oratione miles in occursum ejus venit, quaesivit si iterum legisset psalterium suum maledictum et maledixit eam qui ad terram cecidit, et amens latuit ad dimidium miliare et dum ad se reversa fuisset, statim alta voce clamavit ach et we dicens se isti remunerationes quas habeo pro servitione beatae virginis. Certe nolo ulterius sed scio quod faciam; me ipsam suspendam et sic habebo finem. Intravit dormitum et in litu cognovit qualiter se posset suspendere. Mane sancto miles volens ad tournamentum praeparavit se et equitavit. Autem uxor sua dixit; Eatis maledicte in nomine dyaboli. Dyabolus confundat vos in corpore, anima et honore. Vos numquam mihi dabitis tot verbera sic huc usquam fecistis. Miles cum suis servis ivit ad tournamentum domina habens dyabolum pro socio misit totam familiam ad carpendum flores ut posset facere quod concepit in animo et jussit quod non redirent nisi hora nona; postquam egrediens de curia ipsa clausit portam et clausit cellarium et omnia que erant in domo et projecit claves in piscinam et tum antequam se suspenderet cogitavit quod vellet intrare capellam et vellet dicere beatae virgini quod maxime peniteret eam quod sibi iam diu servivisse et accessit ad altare et dixit: "O Maria, mater et virgo servitium meum a me sepiissime impensum volo in novissimo die quaeritionam facere de te quod non incassum tradidi me tibi servire tantum feci et remunerationes a te exspectavi et adhuc non sum experta. Unde ego infelix sum et misera Maledicta sit dies in qua nata fui, maledicta sit mater quae me genuit, maledicti sint anni in quibus in maxima miseria vixi et omnia bona quae feci in elemosinis et ieiuniis penitent me fecisse propter virginem mariam que me in tantis miseriis non respexit, et statim funem accepit et ivit ad arborem et eum iam collum fune internectaret, vidit pulcherrimam dominam stantem apud ipsam cui dixit quid quaeritis hic maledicta mulier, nisi citius exeatis faciam dorsum vestrum percutere ut numquam possitis recuperare et statim quaesivit aliam arborem et iterato voluit se suspendere. Cum iterum ascendisset arborem et collum fune applicuisset vidit iterum dominam pulcherrimam iuxta ipsam cui dixit ac quomodo potuistis vos per nurum ita celeriter transire, qui estis vos karissima domina. Illa ait (26b col. 1) Ego sum mater Christi.

Statim cum mulier audivit nomen Mariae expergesta cecedit ad terram et statim dyabolus qui apud ipsam erat confusus disciscit et beata virgo ipsum in infernum intravit ut nullum sibi scilicet mariae servientem decipiat de cetero. Beata virgo dixit: mulier surge et dic miserrime quare voluisti te ipsam perdere. Statim mulier dixit: confiteor tibi beata virgo et tuo benedicto filio quod meis peccatis exigentibus me ipsam volui suspendere et multum peccavi contra vos blasphemiis et malis verbis sed peto te mater misericordiae ut mihi iniungas talem peniam ut tibi et filio tuo satisficiam et hoc propter mortem filii tui in cruce pendentis pro me et pro toto mundo, et hoc cum fletu magno pertulit. Eya karissima domina precor ut fontem lacrimarum mihi porrigatis vel propinquetis ut possim invenire de peractis peccatis et quae penitent me maxime fecisse veniam. Tunc maria dixit tu multo opere mihi servisti et me nunc deseruisti sed te modo recipiam in meam gratiam et numquam te deseram et optinuit ei veniam de peccatis suis et dixit: vade intra capellam ibi iniungeretur tibi poenia de peccatis peractis: Et reddidit ei claves quos iactaverat in piscinam et evanuit. Illa intravit capellam et ante altare flexit genibus rogavit virginem gloriosam pro poena salutari et hoc cum nimio fletu et respiciens parietem in tali forma sicut in parasceve personaliter in cruce perpendit coronam habens in capite spineam ita rigiditer capite impressam ut sanguis emaneret et efflueret per totum corpus usque ad plantam pedum, extensis brachiis. Ex ista visione multum perterrita corruit ad terram pro nimis pavore et dolore tunc imago de pariete loquebatur. Surge et respice in me et vide dolorem quam pro te sustinui. Si tu non vis pro me aliqui sustinere tunc oportet me derelinquere te. Mulier respondit, assumpta (col. 2) vel resumpta audacia: confiteor tibi domine Jhesu Christo peccata mea quae unquam feci inter ea quod volui me suspendere et de blasphemiis contra virginem Mariam et precor te ut michi ut michi in iniungas paeniam salutarem quasi respexisti latronem in cruce pendentem et misertus ei fuisti. Respondit ymago: ex quo mater mea pro te rogavit, vade, et dimissa sint tibi omnia peccata tua tali conditione ut tu pro me sis parata pati dolores et miserias sicut et ego pro te sustinui, quia ego percutiam et sanabo dolores intermitto et mitigabo. His dictis ymago disparuit sed nichil remansit nisi gutte sanguinis in pariete. Mulier referens beatae virgine laudes et gaudes multitudinas pro beneficiis ipsis impensis et cogitavit omnia adversa patienter ferre propter amorem Jhesu Christi. Domina orans in capella donec familia rediit emissa portans flores accepit et ornavit capellam et in magna reverentia sanguinem domini nostri Jhesu Christi habuit et

tenuit sub clausura et ivit dormitum donec ad adventum militis. Militi domina cucurrit et amicabiliter militem suscept et salutavit. Miles proterve respondit sicut semper solebat, ad quid valet nobis vestra salutatio et dedit ei pugnam cum manu ad caput que ad terram corruit, quod mulier patienter sustinuit et statim surrexit et accepit calcaria sua et gladium et togam ei servavi super quo miles (miles) multum mirabatur. Tabula praeparata ad edendum domina voluit militi dare aquam super quo iratus ipsam ad dentes percussit sed domina risit. Miles cogitavit si diabolus esse in ea quomodo ita leta esset. Mensa deposita miles dominam rogavit ut iret ad locum secretum et interrogavit ut diceret ei de letitia et gaudio in ea existente. Domina respondit, dignum est ut cum patientia preferam quae merui. Miles respondit, Non est ita quia numquam vidi vos tam letam hoc est ex spirituali causa quam michi dicere debetis (27b col. 1) vel interficiam vos gladio. Domina audiens ista verba non audebat celare sed dixit ei de suspensione et omnia quae ei acciderant. Tandem quaesivit de signo in pariete et duxit eam in capellam ubi sanguinem vidit et maxime perterritus cecedit, ad pedes dominae veniam postulans pro omnibus suis ei indebite illatis ob reverentiam beatae virginis et domina indulsit ei omnia illata et serverunt ambo virgini diebus suis.

#### DAS KOZZENMAERE.

C. v. Heisterbach: *Fragmente der Libri VIII*, ed. Meister, p. 122.

De filio qui fecit patri suo, sicut pater fecerat filio.

Quidam pater familias senex totam hereditatem demisit filio suo. Filius vero ille prius benigne se habuit breve tempus erga patrem suum, sed post expulit a thalamo volens thalamum habere sibi et uxori suae. Et ad ultimum fecit sibi lectum fieri post ostium. Sed cum hiems esset et pater senex frigore graveretur, eo quod filius sibi abstulerat bona opertoria rogavit filium filii, ut diceret patri, quod daret ei aliquid ad tegendum se. Puer vero obtinuit duas ulnas vix panni bursilli a patre suo ad opus avi sui. Et cum aliae duae ulnae remanerent patri, puer flendo rogavit eum, ut sibi eas daret. Qui fletibus pueri victus dedit, quaerens quid inde facere vellet. Qui respondit: Servabo eas, quousque es talis, qualis hunc pater tuus est, nec dabo tibi amplius, quam tu modo das patri tuo.

#### BONER, FABELN, Nr. 89.

Brit. Mus. MS. Harley 268 f. 139b. Legatum male custoditum amittitur.

Quidam tribus filiis suis legavit unum asinum ut unus uno die, alius alio uteretur et eum sustinaret qui suo..... primo igitur die antiquior frater habens asinum et faciens cum multum laborare nihil

ei pro pallo dedit. Cogitabat enim quod frater suus qui eum in crastino erat habiturus satis ei daret. Secundo die frater secundus habens asinum et cogitans quod frater suus eo ditior illum bene paverat nihil ei dedit. Tertio die frater tertius habens asinum et cogitans quod duo fratres ditiores eo bene eum paverant nihil ei dedit et sic pro magno labore et nulla sustentatione asinus mortuus est. Hoc tamen valet ad avaros et pauperes in testamentum et quod legatarii debent pro legatoribus orare.

Arundel 506 fol. 29a. — Boner, No. 53.

Aliud exemplum.

Quidam mulier voluit maritali viro suo fideli viro ejus mortuo. Servus facere renuntiavit propter verba hominum. Illa fecit comburi bovem et fecit servum suum ter ducere ad forum. Prima vice fuit servus derisus supra modum ab omnibus, secunda vice non tantum derisus fuit. Tertia vice non fuit derisus. Sic semper verba hominum cadunt de die in diem et transeunt.

#### FRAU WELT.

Mod. Lang. Review. Vol. 13, p. 470.

A.

MS. Arundel 406 f. 25.

Fuit miles quidam et potens totus mundo deditus qui quadam nocte solus ante castrum suum (in) virgultum plenum deliciis ut melius de mundi pompa et ejus gloria recogitare posset, descendit. Unde cum iam dictus super cubitum suum innixus intenderet, quaedam domina super estimationem humanam formosa et habita decentissime disposita et ornata se ei presentavit dicens: Ecce assum, quam tanto amore hactenas dilexisti, ad me accedas ut bene prospicias. Tali confortatus oraculo Dominam speciosissimam prospexit se beatum reputans quod respectum et affatum talis domine perfrui meruit. Cui illa: Sicut inspexisti mea anteriora te rogo ut diligenter consideres mea

B.

Gesta Romanorum (Oesterley)

c. 202.

Quidam miles multum dilexit seculum et omnem intentionem ad hoc formavit ut mundo complaceret. Unde amor mundi ipsum inpedivit quod deum sequi non potuit. Quadam die venit ad eum quaedam sponsa dicens ei: Respice in me et vide pulchritudinem meam. Qui cum videret illam et multum delectaretur eam inspirere, miles dixit ad illam: "O domina, dic mihi qui es". Respondit mulier: "Ego sum seculum quod tantum diligis et quod tibi videtur etiam pulchrum et dulce. Et dixit respice me a tergo. Cum vidisset, apparuit turpissima, vermibus plena et fetius ut cadaver. Et dixit militi: Sicut vidisti me sponsam decoram facie et a tergo

posteriora. Quae cum ad eum convertisset, miles vidit eam plenam vermibus, putridine et inmundiciis et fetore ita quod horror istorum omnem gloriam prius visam superaret. Ad quem illa: Ego sum gloria mundi. Tales sunt fructus mei. Ad haec verba ymago disparuit et miles emendatus rediit.

despectam sic erit tibi seculum horidum fetidum et amarum, quod te non deum sequi permittit. Hic miles cognoscens seculo renuntiavit et bonis operibus in heremo deum sequi incepit et dies vite sue in dei servicio consumens.

Von ainem einsidel und christus. Ms. Allemand, 117 ff. 181—184.

A.

Ms. Brit. Mus. Add. 15 833 f 95a.

De passione domini.

Heremita quidam dum Dominum deprecaretur in orationibus suis ut sibi revelaret quod servitium ei acceptabilius esset, et ecce cum quadam vice oraret in sua cella audivit vocem raucam de foris et admirans exivit et vidit hominem nudum frigore nimio afflictum dentibus stridentem et totum miserabiliter trepidantem qui habebat magnam crucem super scapulam suam quam per terram post se trahebat. Tunc heremita interrogavit eum dicens: Quis es tu? Cui ille: ego sum Christus. At ille: o domine, ad quid huc venisti. Cui ille: ut ostenderem tibi carius servitium, et ostendo tibi quod non est maius servitium nisi hoc ut me iuves crucem portare scilicet passionem meam in corde tuo memoriter portando, et sic disparuit.

B.

Herolt: Sermo XLIX.

Legitur enim quod quidam heremita extitit sanctissime vite qui instantissime dominum exoravit ut sibi ostenderet quod servitium inter omnia servicia sibi magis placeret, sed quum multum valet deprecatio iusti assidua, contigit quadam vice quum idem heremita esset in cella sua et orando deum honoraret. Audivit cujusdam pauperis vocem de quo multum admiratum surrexit temptans quod hoc esset. Et cum exisset, vidit hominem nudum et crucem magnam super se baiulantem quem quum vidisset, dixit. Quis nam es tu et unde venisti, at ille respondit: de celo veni. Et ille, quis es tu: respondit, Jhesus Christus, Marie filius ego sum. Cui ille ait: Quid o bone Jhesu, hic facis coram me misero peccatore. Respondit tu me huc tuis orationibus compulisti. Nam diu me rogasti, ut ostenderem tibi quod servitium inter omnia servicia maxime acceptarem et nunc veni tibi hoc indicare. Nam



vides magnam crucem quam porto in humeris meis. Et est mihi acceptissimum servitium quod tu et quilibet homo mihi exhibere poteris ut tollas crucem meam super te memorando quotidie passionem meam devote. Hoc servitium est mihi acceptabilissimum. Sed diceret aliquis quem honorem debeo exhibere passioni xpi.

Heinrich v. Melk: Von des todes gehugede 11 663—800.

Herolt Promptuarium No. 339.

Dux quidam Burgundiae dum corpus patris sui vellet transferre sepulcro grossam bufonem vidit super faciam patris sui et comoedentem linguam ejus, qui prudenter in se rediens, exclamavit coram militibus, O falsa mundi gloria sublisisti patri meo, non subludes filio. Ubi sunt pater, divitiae ac deliciae, quas habuisti, ubi sunt morselli pretiosorum ciborum, modo a bufonibus comederis turpiter et vermes te decorant sicut te devorasti pauperes, et rilictis omnibus claustrum intravit.

Der Stricker's "Der Richter und der Teufel". GA III, p. 387.

A.

Caesarius Fragmenti, p. 90.

Retulit mihi quidam abbas ordinis Cisterciensis ante annos paucos in diocesi Bremensi militem quendam fuisse diversarum villarum advocatum. Hic erat homo sine ulla misericordia neque timens deum neque diabolum; avarus enim erat supra modum, frequentes et graves in sibi subiectos faciens exactiones. Die quadam cum propter exactionem faciendam ad villam quandam properaret, diabolus in specie hominis se illi in itinere sociavit. Quem cum ille tam ex horrore quam e mutua colloctione diabo-

B.

MS Additional 15833, f. 156b.

Quodam tempore quidam rusticus surgens diluculo intendebat ire ad forum proxime ville cui demon in forma alterius rustici expectabat ante hostium suum et cum rusticus exiret de domo sua, demon salutavit eum et quaesivit quorsum tenderet. Et ille respondit se velle ire ad forum proxime ville. Demon dixit: et ego volo illuc ire. Simus ergo socii in via. Dixit rusticus placet mihi. Et cum venisset ad viam quesivit rusticus quis esset. Qui respondit: ego sum demon: Et ille; o maledicite quid tu vis facere in foro. Ad

lum esse intellexisset, ire cum illo vehementer timuit, nullo tamen modo neque orando, neque se signando ab eo separari potuit, quia damnatus et ei traditus a summo iudice fuit, peccatis suis exigentibus. Cumque simul pergerent occurrit eis homo quidam pauper porcum in laqueo ducens Cum idem animal huc illucque se diverteret clamavit homo ille iratus: Diabolus te habeat: quo verbo audito advocatus sperans tali occasione liberari ab illo ait illi; "audi amice porcus tibi datus est, vade et tolle eum. Respondit diabolus. Nequaquam michi ex intimo corde donavit et ideo eum tollere non possum. Deinde trans-euntes per aliquam villam, cum infans fleret, mater in foribus domus stans turbida atque irata, voce dicebat: Diabolus te habeat. Quid me fletibus tuis inquietas? Tunc miles iterum sperans a suo socio librari ait: Ecce hic lucratus es animam: tolle infantem hunc, quia tuus est. Ecce mater ejus tradidit eum tibi. Cui diabolus respondit ut prius. Non enim donavit illum michi ex corde sed talis est consuetudo hominibus loqui, cum irascuntur. Incipientes autem appropinquare loco ad quem properabant homines villae advocatum ab longe videntes et causam adventus non ignorantes simul una voce clamabant: Diabolus te habeat, diabolo bene venias. Quo audito diabolus caput movens et cachinnans ait militi:

quod demon. Non propter aliud modo ibi vado nisi quod volo recipere quicquid mihi spontanee offertur. Tunc rusticus. Sic bene patior te ire mecum quia spero quod michi nichil facias. Dixit demon ne timeas. Procedentes igitur in via et confabulantes in letitia. Ecce venit quidam qui pascebat gregem suum et cum una ovis nimium discurreret ab aliis; iratus super eam pastor maledixit ei et verbis tradidit eam dyabolo. Tunc rusticus (157b) audiens dixit demoni ecce ovis illa data est tibi tolle eam, Cui demon o karissime ista maledictio et donatio non procedit ex corde et ideo non possum eam tollere. Demum venerunt ad villam et ecce intra portam in primo domo sedebat quaedam mulier in foribus domus sue habens in sinu parvulum lactantem et nimium vagrantem. Qua de re mulier nimium rapta furare cepit puerum maledicere et eum verbis diabolo tradere. Quod audiens rusticus demoni dixit iterum: Ecce puer ille datus est tibi tollo eum. Cui demon channinando respondit O nec ista maledictio procedit ex corde et sic pertransierunt. Venientes autem super forum subito apparuit quaedam femina pauper et vidua rustico dixit: O quod diabolus vos accipiat cum corpore et anima, quia diu vultis affligere animam meam cum mercede mea quam apud vos merui et michi non datis. Statim demon tenens rusti-

Ecce isti dederunt te michi ex intimo corde et idcirco meus es. Et rapuit eum diabolus in ipsa hora: sed quid de eo gestum sit vel quo eum direxerit usque in hodiernum diem ignoratur. Verba mutuae confabulationis militis cum diabolo per famulum ejusdem militis dicta et manifestata sunt.

cum per collerium suum dixit. Modo volo accipere quodo datum est michi quia hoc processit ex corde et ita deduxit eum promittentem dei iudicio. Ne igitur vobis simile contingat saltem in anima multum canere debeamus.

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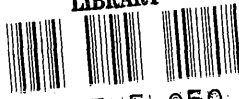
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